

SHANGHAIZATION OF MUMBAI: VISIONS, DISPLACEMENTS, CONTESTATIONS

BY

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ABSTRACT

A central question in the field of global studies is how does the development planning of emerging economies address social inequality? The emerging economies have achieved remarkable economic success in recent years; however, this success has also accompanied new challenges of mega-urbanization, new rural and urban poverty and inequality. This has prompted a reexamination of the growth strategies in countries such as India and China who have made “inclusive growth” as their central goal of development planning.

In the context of inclusive growth, urban development has emerged as a key problematic that seeks to balance high growth and reduction in poverty and inequality. Growth has fueled national ambitions for increasing power in world politics and the global market and cities are viewed as key actors in sustaining this growth. In this context, growth gets normalized, masking its inequities, unevenness, and contestations. Therefore, any serious discussion about inclusive growth in emerging economies has to take into account the complex urban realities within these societies and the challenges involved in making growth inclusive.

Taking Mumbai—India’s “global city”—as a case, this dissertation explores competing claims of urban development among diverse stakeholders in the city (including planners, business associations, civic organizations, activists, and poor peoples’ movements) in the context of the recent national growth strategy in India that gives primacy to cities. I analyze the genealogies of emerging local (urban) development imaginaries, modeled after “successful” Asian cities, particularly Shanghai. In doing so, I focus on the processes, actors, visions, and practices that constitute and contest these urbanization strategies. The study was based on twelve months of field work (archival research, interviews, and ethnographic observation) in Mumbai. The study contributes in problematizing taken-for-granted assumptions of growth in the

emerging economies and calls for broad-based inclusive development that focuses on the quality and welfare implications of growth.

Some of the key findings of the study are:

~Shanghaization as an urban growth strategy was produced and sustained by a constellation of actors operating at multiple scales involving the corporate sector, the national and subnational state, and the urban middle classes.

~As a model of development, Shanghaization is narrowly focused on growth rather than broad-based development. As an entrepreneurial model, it privileges the urban middle-classes and does not address structural poverty and inequality in the city.

~Shanghaization is not merely a metropolitan imaginary, but has emerged as a national urban-centric model of development in India that is premised on uneven development.

~By challenging the narrow economic assumptions in development thinking, the poor people's movements in the city open up possibilities for ground-up, broad-based developmental alternatives that are equitable and sustainable.

To Priyam, for her love, patience, and support &

Rishaan, for the new adventure....

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INTRODUCTION

~“Indian cities will be the locus and engine of economic growth over the next two decades, and the realization of an ambitious goal of 9—10 per cent growth in GDP depends fundamentally on making Indian cities much more livable, inclusive, bankable, and competitive.” (*Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012)*, Planning Commission, Government of India 2008:394).

A central question in the field of global studies is how does the development planning of emerging economies address social inequality?¹ Emerging economies, particularly in Asia, have achieved spectacular economic success in the last few decades (Harris 2005; Nederveen Pieterse 2008b; Prestowitz 2005).² For years now, growth rates in the global South (particularly in India and China) have far exceeded those of the North (Nederveen Pieterse 2008b). There is a widespread optimism that in this “Global-Asian Era,” the new economic dynamism in Asia, led by India and China, would alter the international political economy dominated by the “transatlantic West,” thereby reshaping the world (Kaplinsky and Dessen 2006:197). Sustained growth in the past few decades has led to significant improvements in living conditions and a decline in extreme poverty in the world.³ However, this growth has also brought with it numerous challenges—mega-urbanization, new rural and urban poverty, and inequality—that threaten to derail the progress of growth and poverty reduction (Commission on Growth and Development 2008; Davis 2004; 2006; Dicken 2003; Mittleman 2006; Nederveen Pieterse 2008b; 2009; Sassen 1999). For example, in India although there has been a decline in urban poverty (largely attributed to the increasing rate of urbanization), the absolute number of the urban poor has increased in recent years. Moreover, the incidence of decline in urban poverty has

¹ Some scholars prefer to use the term “emerging societies” to emphasize a sociologically rich understanding of the internal debates within the emerging economies that focus not only on the economic dynamism, but also the social and political processes that shape it and are shaped by it (Nederveen Pieterse and Boike Rehbin, 2009b). This study supports this endeavor.

² Investment bankers have coined the term BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) to refer to a special category of countries which have sustained high growth rates. See Harris (2005) and Prestowitz (2005).

³ However, some scholars are critical of these dominant claims on poverty reduction. For example, see Wade (2004).

not accelerated with the GDP growth (Government of India 2009). Therefore, it is imperative to understand the developmental trajectory of emerging economies. As Nederveen Pieterse (2009b) puts it:

How the development path of emerging economies relates to social inequality; what is the relationship between economic vitality in emerging economies and social inequality? Are social inequality and multi-speed economies built into the pattern of accumulation such that if inequality recedes accumulation declines, or is the development path geared towards reducing inequality? Where do the emerging economies lay their growing weight—with growth without equity or growth with equity? (P. 4)

However, the uneven and unequal nature of growth in emerging economies has not unnoticed and has recently prompted a reexamination of existing growth policies. As a result of this, “inclusive growth” has emerged as a new development paradigm in many countries that seeks to focus not only on the *pace*, but also on the *quality* and *pattern* of growth.⁴ Recently, countries such as India and China have made inclusive growth as the center piece of their development planning (Fewsmith 2004; Planning Commission, Government of India 2006; 2011; State Council of China 2006).

In planning for inclusive growth, urban development has emerged as a key problematic that seeks to balance high growth and reduction in poverty and inequality. Cities are extremely important for growth. As highlighted by the urban studies literature in the West, due to the agglomerative nature of global capitalism, cities (“world/global cities”) are assuming a more central role in the world economy (Abu-Lughod 1989; Arrighi 1994; Braudel 1986; Friedmann [1986] 1995; King 1990; Renntich 2006; Sassen 1991; 2001).⁵ Moreover, the shift of global trade toward Asia has led to the spectacular rise of cities in the Asian world and with that a

⁴ At this point, it is worth mentioning that there is more to development than growth and poverty. Questions of equality, dignity, and justice are vital for development. In this context, refer to Nederveen Pieterse (2002) for a critique of the contemporary poverty-centric approach of development.

⁵ In 2009, cities accounted for 70 per cent of the world’s GDP (World Bank 2009). In India, 62 per cent of the GDP is generated in towns and cities (Government of India, 2009: xv).

renewed interest in urban development in this region (Amin and Thrift 2002; Roy 2009). While the recent financial crisis has somewhat dented the reputation of New York, London, and Tokyo, cities such as Singapore and Dubai have emerged as new centers of global finance (Roy and Ong 2011). Increasing importance of cities in the Asian world has reconfigured national growth strategies, thereby altering the dynamics between national growth and urban development. To seek global prominence, Asian states are systematically orchestrating growth by “reinventing” their cities through extensive centralized political and economic investment.⁶ The role models for these Asian cities are no longer cities in the West, but other “successful” cities in Asia. In this context, Ong (2011:5) highlights that there has emerged an “inter-Asian horizon of metropolitan and global aspirations” based on distinctive practices of urban modeling and inter-referencing within Asian cities.

In the above contest, the “urban” has emerged as a key subject of development planning. Driven by “urbanization for growth” strategies promoted by dominant multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, predominantly rural countries such as India and China are introducing ambitious urban renewal programs that focus on improving urban infrastructure, quality of life, and governance, primarily aimed to facilitate fast growth (World Bank 2009b).⁷ In this excessively growth-centered environment, growth discourses inundate the popular media and the elite boardrooms of planners and business groups. These discourses tend to normalize growth, masking its inequities, unevenness, and contestations.

Given this context, there is a need to strengthen the inclusive growth debate through a critical

⁶ In the Indian context, see Prime Minister Manmohan Singh’s quote on p. 75.

⁷ In India, the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) represents one such ambitious urban renewal scheme launched in December, 2005 for the integrated development of urban infrastructure and services in 63 cities across India. Around Rs. 50,000 crore of reform-linked central assistance is to be provided under this scheme over a period of seven years. For additional details on JNNURM refer to its website (<http://jnnurm.nic.in/>). A recent *New York Times* article mentioned an ambitious Chinese plan to move 250 million rural residents into newly constructed towns and cities over the next decade or so. For further details, refer to Ian Johnson, “China’s Great Uprooting: Moving 250 million into Cities,” *New York Times*, June 15, 2013.

examination of the (rephrasing Ong) “emerging horizon of metropolitan growth aspirations” in the emerging economies. This is further supported by a shift in the emphasis of development policy toward the territorial dynamics, rather than national averages in understanding growth and development (CMEPSP 2009; UNCDF 2012). In this regard, a place-specific analysis of growth would be extremely productive to shift the focus away from a static, value-neutral, numerically-driven, and taken-for-granted understanding of growth, to a more dynamic, context-specific, and contested understanding of what constitutes growth and how growth discourses are produced in specific contexts.

The Research Agenda

In light of recent development economics that emphasizes the importance of shared, inclusive growth (Ali and Zhuang 2007; Commission on Growth and Development 2008; MGI 2010; Planning Commission 2006; 2011; Rodrik 2006; 2008; Stiglitz 1998; State Council of China 2006; UNCDF 2013; World Bank 2009a), this study seeks to analyze:

- Contemporary growth strategies in emerging economies and how they relate to poverty and inequality.
- Do they reflect a narrow development approach that privileges middle class interests or are they broad-based and inclusive?
- The study tries to do this through the case study of Mumbai (India’s “global city”) by examining the developmental visions and contestations of what is popularly referred to as “Shanghaization” of Mumbai (a recent growth strategy modeled after “successful” Asian cities, particularly Shanghai), within the dominant city-centric growth strategy in India.⁸

⁸ Bombay was officially renamed as Mumbai in 1995 by the right-wing Hindu fundamentalist Shiv Sena-led state government. Henceforth in the dissertation, while referring to the city, I will alternate between Bombay and Mumbai, depending on the historical period that is being discussed.

Bombay/Mumbai has been India's premier city and has been characterized as India's most modern city (Patel 2004). This view of Bombay/Mumbai has not only been based on its economic vitality, but also its cultural appeal as India's most cosmopolitan city based on the diversity of people, arts, theater, literature, music, and films that it has nurtured over the years.⁹ However, the city is also notorious for its seamy underbelly of crime and the underworld as well as its right-wing anti-migrant and anti-Muslim urban movement since the 1960s in the form of Shiv Sena. However, since the early 1990s, there is one imaginary that has taken center stage and captured the hearts and minds of people (particularly of the elite in the city)—that of transforming Mumbai into a “world class city.”

In the post-reform context, the national political and business elite have reinforced Mumbai's role as the driving force of India's economic integration in the world economy. Simultaneously, since the mid 1990s, urban planning in Mumbai is guided by entrepreneurial and technocratic visions of transforming the city into a “world class city,” emulating the model of Shanghai. Recently, the Prime Minister of India expressed a desire to “reinvent” Mumbai as the “new financial capital of Asia” to strategically integrate the Indian economy with the finance-driven world economy. This vision draws its inspiration from Shanghai and its success in complete transforming itself within a short period of time. For example, during 1992 to 2007, Shanghai experienced the fastest economic growth by any megacity in the world, averaging 12 percent annually!

As a development model, “Shanghaization” symbolizes “fast-growth” based on real-estate revitalization to make the city internationally competitive. In Mumbai this has taken the

⁹ For example, the cosmopolitan ideal is reflected in a variety of cultural spheres. Bombay/Mumbai has been the birthplace of modern Indian painting and progressive modern theater in both English and native languages. It is also the home of the radical *Dalit* literature, produced primarily by the historically most oppressed castes. It also houses, Bollywood, India's premier film industry.

form of gentrifying former industrial districts, redeveloping slums, and regulating public space in an effort to spur foreign investment. These redevelopment practices have resulted in the displacement of the low-income residents (mainly industrial workers, slum dwellers, and street vendors) from the central parts of the city to the urban periphery. However, these transformations have also engendered various poor people's movements in Mumbai that have made demands for housing, livelihood, and good governance.

There is substantial literature on Mumbai documenting certain aspects of contemporary transformation in Mumbai: deindustrialization, informalization of work, and economic and spatial restructuring (Banerjee-Guha 2002; Bhowmik and More 2001; Deshpande and Deshpande 2003; D'monte 2002; Ghorpade 2005); poverty and declining living standards for the poor (Swaminathan 2003); the growing middle classes (Fernandes 2000; Nijman 2006); and the privatization of basic services, especially in the area of health and housing (Mohan 2005). There are also studies that have analyzed contemporary transformation in Mumbai in relation to globalization (Banerjee-Guha 2002; Patel 2003; 2004). There are also studies that provide a descriptive account of Shanghaization and its immediate politics (Mahadevia 2008b; Mahadevia and Narayan 2005).

However, this study differs from the above studies in several ways:

~None of the above studies have systematically analyzed Shanghaization as an urban strategy of growth and development in a broader context of inclusive growth in India.

~Further, even those that focus on Shanghaization have not analyzed the contextual specificities within which the Shanghai model emerged as a dominant discourse of development in China and India.

~In addition to this, these studies ignore the agential and contested aspects of urban development in Mumbai.¹⁰

This study tries to fill the above gaps by analyzing the deeper contingencies of urban development in Mumbai by focusing on the processes, actors, visions, and practices that constitute and contest urban growth strategies such as Shangaization. In doing this, the study problematizes the taken-for-granted assumptions of growth in India and calls for broad-based inclusive development that goes beyond economic growth to focus on the *quality* and welfare implications of this growth. Finally, it critiques the prevalent economic hegemony in development thinking by incorporating ground-up, broad-based alternatives of development that are equitable and sustainable.

Cities and Globalization

There is a large literature available on the theme of cities and globalization. The study is guided by a deeper, historically informed understanding of globalization as a *longue durée* process based on cross border exchange of capital, goods, and people (Arrighi 1994; Hobson 2004; Hopkins 2002; Nederveen Pieterse 2006). Based on this approach, it is found that cities have historically constituted as key nodes that sustained wider networks of production, exchange, and culture (Abu-Lughod 1989; Arrighi 1994; Braudel 1986; King 1976; 1990; Rennstich 2006). Historically, much of these exchanges took place either in the context of empires or in an inter-state system (Sassen 2001). However, since 1960s, the increased mobility of capital and the financialization of the world economy based on advances in global communication technologies have further accentuated the strategic role of cities in the world economy beyond the boundaries of the nation state (Sassen 1991; 2001). Moreover, since 1980s, we have witnessed a increasing influence of neoliberal policies that have added onto this “globalization package” certain other

¹⁰ A few notable exceptions include Anjaria (2009) and Harris (2008).

features, namely, deregulation, marketization, financialization and securitization, and the lean government (Nederveen Pieterse 2004:1). As a result of these changes, there has been a structural transformation in governance, policy making, and accumulation, leading to a rescaling of the state and devolution of power to the subnational levels (Brenner 1999). The rescaling of the state has also accompanied an increasing role of global institutions and private actors in urban development. As a result of these changes, there is a growing interest in theorizing the link between contemporary globalization and urbanization, especially in terms of how global and local forces interact in shaping the city. In the following section, I discuss four such perspectives/approaches that inform this study, namely, the capitalist city, the global city, the neoliberal city, and the contested city.

The capitalist city and the “created” environment

In the 1970s and the early 1980s, there was a “paradigm shift” in urban studies in the US led by new critical approaches that questioned the dominant functionalist paradigm of the ecological approach of the Chicago School (Gottdiener and Feagin 1988; Walton 1993).¹¹ This “new urban sociology” (Zukin 1980) or urban political economy viewed urbanism as a “particular geographical form of spatial patterning of relationships taken by a particular mode of production and the process of capitalist accumulation” (King 1990:72). Rather than seeing urbanism as an inevitable or natural process, it was understood as a “created” environment influenced by the processes of capitalist accumulation.

Harvey (1989b) uses the term “space time compression” and “spatial fix” to describe the apparent contradictory logic of capitalist accumulation. On the one hand, contemporary globalization has led to the elimination of geographical barriers to capitalist accumulation, while

¹¹ For example, see Castells (1983) and Harvey (1973). Even though this new critical approach was labeled as “new urban *sociology*,” most of the researchers were from diverse disciplines such as urban planning, political science, and geography (Gottdiener and Feagin 1988).

on the other hand, this geographical expansion of capitalism is itself premised on the production of relatively stable and immobile geographical landscapes such as the built environments, transportation infrastructure, production and business complexes, and communication networks.

However, the new urban sociological research had an *intra*-national focus and there was not much cross-national analysis or a broader discussion at the level of the world economy. Moreover, most of this research was grounded in cities of Europe and North America and there was less focus on cities in Asia and Africa. Nonetheless, the key contribution of new urban sociology was that it provided the critical tools to understand the conflictual nature of urbanism. Later, influenced by the world systems theory (Wallerstein 1984), scholars began to connect localized processes of urbanization to structural economic changes in the world economy. It was increasingly recognized that urbanization could not be understood solely through the political economy of regions or within the boundaries of nation states and that there was a need for an “analytic disarticulation of cities and nations” (Davis 2005: 97). Inspired by the dependency school’s approach of exploring the “global context of national development,” urban sociologists began to understand cities on the basis of capitalist development on the global scale (Davis 2005). Thus, urbanism in the “periphery” was understood in relation to the capitalist processes in the “core.” The “development” of cities in the South and their function, organization, and form was understood in terms of their incorporation into the world-economy (King 1990).

The capitalist city approach sensitizes us to the role of power and ideology in shaping the urban environment and therefore, it promotes a critical understanding of urban development. However, as critics have argued, new urban sociology tends to be too economic and simplistic in its analysis (Walton 1993). By privileging economic perspectives, new urban sociology often ignored history and culture as critical variables in explaining urbanism (King 1990).

The global city and the geography of centrality and marginality

Building upon the “world city theory” popularized mainly through the writings of Friedmann ([1986] 1995), Saskia Sassen (1991; 2001) proposed a “global city” model based on an empirical analysis of New York, London, and Tokyo. The “global city” model argues that along with the geographical spread of economic activities, there is a need for an amalgamation or centralization of these dispersed activities. This has resulted in the emergence of a centralized corporate structure in order to coordinate the operations of a firm (Sassen 1991; 2000a). Due to their relative densities, cities enable such agglomeration of activities and, therefore, acquire a new strategic role in the functioning of the world economy (Sassen 1991).

A “global city” is “a place where certain kinds of work can get done” and the “things” it makes are highly specialized services and financial goods (Sassen 2001: 5). By defining the role of global cities in such a manner, Sassen helps us to rethink the dichotomy of manufacturing and services by focusing on the “*practice* of global control” (emphasis added) where global cities “produce” high-level business services. However, this global control is not possible through a single city, but based on coordinated network of cities that produce a “geography of centrality,” bringing together major international financial and business centers such as New York, London, Tokyo, Paris, and Frankfurt. But on the other hand, dominant manufacturing centers and port cities become peripheral in this process, leading to a simultaneous “geography of marginality” (Sassen 2000a). This geography of centrality and marginality is also reflected *within* cities in form of increasing informalization that accompanies the growth of a specialized service sector.

Over the years, the “global city” has become a hegemonic analytic in the academia that articulates the dynamics between cities and globalization. Even outside the academic realm, the

“world/global city” talk has become influential in urban policy circles. In cities of the global South, the “world/global city” is increasingly used as a frame of reference for growth and development. The “global city” approach has also generated a lot of criticism from scholars from the South. These scholars have been particularly critical of the universal claims of such theories and their unwitting perpetuation of power hierarchies. Robinson (2002) argues that in urban studies cities outside the West are assessed with a “pre-given standard of (world) city-ness” (p. 531). Further, it is argued that the urban hierarchies constructed by most world/global city theorists are not merely analytical tools, but also “status yardsticks” that “measure cities in terms of their global economic linkages, to locate their place in a hierarchy of nested cities, and to assess their potential to join the super league” (Yeoh 1999:608). Smith (2002) argues that the concept of “world/global city” provide a static picture of the urban world and does not sufficiently explain the dynamism of place construction. The world/global city literature is also criticized on grounds that it ignores local historical contexts and “overstates the power of actors and institutions operating on a global level and underestimates local agency and contingency” (Shatkin 2007:1). Thus, the “world/global city” approach ends up reifying cities as abstract economic spaces.

The neoliberal city: “urbanization of neoliberalism”

It has been argued that the development of neoliberalism has been highly uneven across different social-spatial scales (global, regional, national, or urban), rendering it polycentric and multiscale in character (Leitner et al. 2007). However, it is most manifest, visible, and open to contestation at the urban scale (Brenner and Theodore 2002:367). Thus, cities are at the forefront of neoliberalization (Brenner and Theodore 2002).

The emerging “neoliberal city” is characterized by the following features. First, an entrepreneurial city that focuses on competition with other cities for investments, innovations, and “creative classes.” Second, a city in which municipal governance dedicated for social development is replaced by professional quasi-public agencies promoting economic development, privatization of urban services, and competition among public agencies. Finally, a city whose residents are expected to behave responsibly, entrepreneurially, and prudently and who are responsible for their own successes and failures (Leitner et al. 2007:4)

Neoliberal urbanism is also characterized by a change in the nature of urban governance from managerialism of the 1960s to entrepreneurialism in the 1970s and 1980s (Harvey 1989a). Led by powerful business interests, cities are increasingly taking an entrepreneurial approach to economic development prioritizing innovations and public-private partnerships to attract investments and jobs. In this context, cities resort to several neoliberal strategies such as place-marketing, enterprise and empowerment zones, local tax abatements, urban development corporations, public-private partnerships, local boosterism, property redevelopment among several others (Brenner and Theodore 2002:368).

Thus the primary goal of neoliberal policy experiments is to “mobilize city space as an arena for both market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices” (Brenner and Theodore: 368). However, it is important to understand the agency that drives this entrepreneurial activity. In this regard, it is argued that the power to organize space is conflict-ridden and involves a wide variety of social actors coming together to form broader coalitions facilitated by the government. These coalitions usually consists of local chambers of commerce, local financiers, industrialists, business leaders, real estate and property developers, educational

and religious institutions, local labor organizations, political parties, social movements, and local state agencies (Harvey 1989a; Molotch 1976).

In a democratic environment, emerging growth strategies need to be perceived as serving the greater common good. Therefore, the task for these growth coalitions is not merely to create the material conditions for growth, but also discursively generate a consensus for growth. In order to do this, pro-growth lobbies engage in civic boosterism through their business journals and daily newspapers. Therefore, it is through the “power of machine language” that shapes everyday life that emerging growth is normalized (Jonas and Wilson 1999:8).

The contested city: embeddedness and alternatives

It is argued that the manner in which global economic forces localize and get realized in various national and urban contexts depend on the specific economic and socio-spatial contexts. Thus, there is a distinction between the neoliberal *ideology* (market forces operate as immutable laws) and “actually existing neoliberalism” because neoliberal projects are contextually *embedded* (nationally, regionally, and locally) within “inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles” (Brenner and Theodore 2002:350). Therefore, the process of incorporation of global forces is always contested, generating possibilities of alternative claim-making and citizenship (Sassen 2000b). As Leitner et al. (2007) argue, “contestation is integral to the emergence of neoliberal regimes and remains closely articulated with neoliberalism.”

Leitner et al. (2007) conceptualize contestation in a broad manner. Contestation is not merely conceived as imaginaries and practices that resist or respond to neoliberalism, but also involves those that existed prior to the embedding of neoliberalization and which lie outside the

scope of the neoliberal framework. As a result of this, they are resilient to neoliberalism and can potentially rework it (Leitner et al. 2007:5). As Leitner et al. argue:

[T]here exist non-neoliberal social and spatial imaginaries, alternative forms of subject formulation, and newly emerging practices of contestation that include alternative economic and social practices and innovative alliances across multiple axes of social difference” (Leitner et al. 2007:22).

Therefore, the emerging urban politics is much more complex than the binary opposition of an “urban glamour zone” and an “urban war zone” (Hamel et al. 2000:8). It is a result of contradicting visions of “whose city is it.” The day to day urban struggles constantly involve both *negotiation and conflict* and very specific demands and victories, but nonetheless they do contribute to the overall nature of development of the city. The emergent urban politics may not always take the form of contestation, but can also be collaborative in nature (for example, public-private partnership). In this context, it is observed that there are three different kinds of struggles emerging in global cities: first, are less institutionalized and spontaneous movements dealing with the *costs* (poverty, income inequality) of gentrification, displacement, and pollution; second, those that are based on institutionalized cooperation with the state in the form of public-private partnerships in dealing with *urban repair* in the context of urban decay and marginality (community-based organizations); third, are the episodic, spontaneous, and disruptive new poor people’s movements that deal with the *erosion of the welfare state* that challenge the legitimacy of local policies of exclusion (Hamel et al. 2000:9-14).

However, urban politics may not always take the form of organized social movements striving for “social transformation” or “emancipation” (Bayat 1997:57). But as Bayat (1997) argues, the everyday informal politics of diverse groups of “floating” population such as migrants, refugees, unemployed, squatters, street vendors, and other marginalized groups may take the form of the “encroachment of the ordinary.” This kind of politics is not long-lasting or

collectively organized, but mostly spontaneous and individualistic, driven primarily by the necessity to survive and live a dignified life.

Based on this broader view of contestation, we need to explore contextually specific interactions between the emerging market-oriented restructuring projects (within the inherited historical and institutional landscape of the city) and their contestations at multiple socio-political scales. It is not only important to understand top-down neoliberal urban restructuring, but also the “bottom-up” and “sideways” contestation and accommodation between neoliberal and non-neoliberal imaginaries and practices that collectively shape the future of the city.

Methodology

The city and the text: critical urban discourse analysis

This study uses discourse analysis as a tool to critique dominant urban growth discourses in Mumbai. Discourse analysis has been an important theme in international development studies (Apthorpe and Gasper 1996; Grillo and Stirrat 1997; Nederveen Pieterse 2011) and in critical development studies (Munck & O’Hearn 1999).¹² As a tool of criticism, discourse analysis is particularly useful in “critiquing hegemonic discourses and exposing its silences, omissions and double talk” based on its critical appraisal of development policy, official texts, and development thinking (Nederveen Pieterse 2011: 239).¹³ In the field of international development studies, discourse analysis has remained an influential component of the post-development approach (Escobar 1995; Sachs 1992). Although its merits as an interpretive methodology have been widely recognized, as an ideology, post-development has been criticized for its “development

¹² Given the constraint of space, I do not provide a comprehensive review of discourse analysis, but only restrict myself to discourse analysis in the interdisciplinary fields of development and urban studies. However, it should be noted that discourse analysis informs multiple disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, linguistics, psychology, geography among other, and the use of discourse analysis differs in each of them in terms of their assumptions, analysis, and methodologies.

¹³ For example, see Rew (1997) and Tucker (1999).

agnosticism” (Nederveen Pieterse 2011:238) and its inability to alternative policy perspectives (Corbridge 1998; Nederveen Pieterse 2010).

Recently, discourse analysis has gained widespread acceptance in the field of urban policy research (Hajer 1993; Hastings 1999; Fairclough 1985; 1992; 1995; Jacobs 1999; 2006; Lees 2004).¹⁴ It is acknowledged that along with actual planning decisions, it is equally important to analyze the power and ideological conflicts that shape the deliberation of policy implementation and to recognize the important role of language in the policy arena (Jacobs 2006). A closer examination of language in the form of utterances and texts in the policy context provides a more nuanced understanding of the policy process.

Social reality is mediated through discourse and there is an ongoing struggle over its meaning (See Laclau and Mouffe 1985). In this discursive struggle, there is a broad array of discourses competing to establish their version of the social world. When discourses become hegemonic, the social practices they embody become “common sense” masking their political contingency (Gramsci 1971; Laclau and Mouffe 1985). Therefore, discursive and non-discursive worlds are not antithetical to each other, but dialectically constitute each other (Fairclough 1992). As shown ably by Michael de Certeau (1984: 125), language is not merely expressive, but also productive as discourses “open a field” for social practices. In the same context, Fairclough et al. (2004) explain, “people not only act and organize in particular ways, they also represent their ways of acting and organizing, and produce imaginary projections of new or alternative ways, in particular discourses” (p. 2).¹⁵ Therefore, the manner in which actions are represented in language is also important.

¹⁴ For a critical appraisal of different approaches as well as studies using discourse analysis in urban policy research, see Jacobs (2006). Also, see Urban Studies (1999) for an initial discussion on discourse analysis.

¹⁵ Cited in Jacobs (2006:40).

However, discourse analysis is not free from criticisms. One particularly important criticism leveled against discourse analysis is worth noting here. Discourse analysis is criticized for privileging individual agency and subjectivity over structural factors (Jessop 1991; Badcock). In a similar vein, Nederveen Pieterse (2011) argues that in order for discourse analysis to be more effective and avoid the trap of “discursivism,” it needs to go beyond the discourse and link the discourse to political economy and take into account the wider political and economic context. Guided by these criticisms, this study is influenced by Norman Fairclough’s “critical discourse analysis” (CDA) (1989; 1992; 1995) which is sensitive to the context of power and political economy and connects discourses to broader political and economic contexts. Unlike the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe which contends that the social world is wholly constituted by the discourse, the CDA distinguishes between the discursive and non-discursive worlds, which mutually constitute each other through a dialectical relationship. Therefore, according to CDA, discourse is a “way of talking about and acting upon the world which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices” (Candlin and Maley 1997:202, cited in Rear N.d). As Fairclough puts it, “discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning (Fairclough 1992:64).

However, this process of representing and constructing the world is a contested one, where different groups compete to establish a particular version of social “reality” in order to pursue their objectives. And the methodological assumption that guides CDA is that is that “these conflicts are revealed in texts and speech as well as in the actions of individuals, interest-groups and government agencies” (Fairclough 1999:203).

According to Lee (2004), methodologically, discourse analysis generally involves highlighting of two things: “first, the interpretive context, that is the social setting within which discourse is located; second, the rhetorical organization of the discourse, that is the argumentative schema that organize a text and establish its authority” (p. 104). Based on the analysis of spoken or written texts, Fairclough (1992) proposed a three-dimensional framework of discourse analysis involving the text analysis, discursive practice, and social practice which connects the individual discursive event (“language use”) to wider aspects of social practice.¹⁶ Jacobs (2006:42) summarizes the three dimensions as follows:

1. Text analysis—the actual analysis of the text, its structure, vocabulary and grammar.
2. Discursive practice—the analysis of the processes in which texts are produced and the context in which policy statements are made and how they relate to other debates and literature.
3. Social practice—a study of discourse in relation to wider structures and ideology.

Personal research narrative

Having lived in Mumbai for several years as a child and intermittently as an adult, I am familiar with the changing ethos of the city. My initial interest in the city was in studying the postcolonial transformation of the textile mill-district in Mumbai, *Girangaon* (the village of the mills). The textile industry was the sweat and blood of Mumbai for more than a hundred years. As a child, I was enamored by the stories narrated by people who worked in the mills. Bombay for me then symbolized a city of the working classes. Even though I was too young to understand some of the dramatic struggles waged by the mill workers in the turbulent 1980s, I do have visual memories of how the social and physical landscape of the city was shaped by the mills: be it the

¹⁶ Although, there are competing definitions of discourse and discourse, Van Dijk (1997:3) provides an interesting way to understand the difference between “discourse” and “discourse analysis” where he defines “discourse” simply as “language use” and “discourse analysis” as “the study of talk and text in context” (Cited in Jacobs 2006).

towering mills that dotted the skylines of Mumbai, the series of wholesale cloth stores in the mill-district, or the cultural festivities of the mill-workers and their families (especially the most popular *Ganesh* festival). However, over a period of time, I realized that the mill-district was one (arguably one of the most important) among several important elements of transformation taking place in Mumbai. Moreover, as I studied existing urban studies literature, I came to realize that there was merit in understanding the transformations in Mumbai at a much broader level. Mumbai of the 1990s and 2000s had become noticeably different than the one in the 1980s and earlier. In the post-reform period, the city was introduced to foreign products, cable network, malls, and “world class city” desires. A section of the city-elite were now talking about a complete “make-over” of the city, of transforming it into a “world class city” to the likes of Shanghai. It is in this context that I reformulated my research idea. I was now more interested in understanding the key processes and actors involved in producing this discourse of urban growth and transformation and how this discourse was gaining legitimacy in the policy circles. I thought this was a fundamental question for analysis as language is power and is a critical tool in transforming the social world.

My first systematic attempt of research was a preliminary study of two months in the summer of 2008. During this period, I collected newspapers articles and reports from various documentation centers and libraries in Mumbai. Along with this, I also conducted interviews with a few activists and academics in the city. As a result of this preliminary fieldwork, as well as my earlier visits to the city, I established contacts with representatives of several organizations in the city. I was also able to identify key stakeholders that shaped urban development in Mumbai. On returning to the US after my preliminary fieldwork, I wrote and defended my

dissertation proposal and later spent a year in Mumbai (December 2008 to December 2009) conducting extensive qualitative research.

Research methods

At the operational level, the study was guided by three specific questions:

1. To analyze the genealogy of the discourse of Shangaization as an urban growth strategy in Mumbai by focusing on the processes, actors, visions, and practices that shaped it and were shaped by it.¹⁷
2. To assess how diverse stakeholders in Mumbai (representing the state, the market, and the civil society), mediate, make sense of, and contest the dominant discourses and practices of growth and development.
3. To explore if these contestations enable alternative visions of growth and development in Mumbai.

In order to gather data to answer the above questions, I employed multiple research methods that involved archival research, in-depth interviews, and ethnographic observation. I drew on multiple secondary sources including academic literature, government reports, newspaper articles, and newsletters of various organizations in the city. I also visited several governmental and non-governmental organizations and documentation centers in Mumbai.

I conducted about 40 in-depth interviews with representatives of diverse stakeholders in Mumbai that included poor peoples' movements, trade unions, civic groups, government

¹⁷ My understanding of the term "discourse" is influenced by the political economy tradition of discourse analysis (discussed in detail later) which views discourse analysis as "a tool for uncovering certain hegemonic thinking and talking about how things should be done that serve certain vested interests" (Lees 2004:102). Methodologically, this involves a close scrutiny of rhetoric and the narrative structure of texts and to understand how issues are framed. In terms of its definition, I find Candlin and Maley's (1997) definition of discourse particularly useful. They define discourse as a "way of talking about and acting upon the world which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices" (cited in Rear N.d). Therefore, it is important to see how action is represented in language.

agencies, non-government organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), business think-tanks, as well as several social activists, social workers, urban planners, municipal officials, politicians, and developers. I narrowed down the list of people to interview on the basis of my reading of available literature on Mumbai as well as the theoretical leads guiding the study. An important criterion of choosing the respondents was their “perceived” influence in shaping the affairs of the city. This was based on my subjective judgment based on my reading of contemporary literature on Mumbai and the frequency with which these people were quoted in newspapers, reports, and during informal conversations with people. I also relied on the “snow-ball” method to find potential respondents. During my preliminary research in summer, I made contacts with people, who directed me to other prospective respondents. The questions were tailor-made for each organization, but also involved a few common questions that aimed to gather information about the objectives and activities of the organization, as well as the particular challenges it faced in the context of contemporary urban development.

Finally, I selectively engaged in ethnographic observation by “immersing” myself in multiple sites including talks, workshops, and meetings organized by several organizations and social movements. I also visited sites that have been at the forefront of urban redevelopment such as the mill district, slums communities displaced by the 2003-04 evictions, recycling grounds, and resettlement sites of the displaced urban poor, to visually document the ongoing spatial transformations and displacements and to gain a richer understanding into poor peoples’ daily struggles against inequality, dispossession, and resistance.

In chapter 1, I situate my study in the wider context of the emerging discourse of “inclusive growth.” I argue that in the context of inclusive growth, the urban has emerged as a critical development problematic that seeks to balance high growth and reduction of poverty and

inequality and, therefore, justifies attention. Chapter 2 provides a historical context to Mumbai's contemporary transformation. Using a *longue durée* historical perspective, I trace the development of Bombay/Mumbai as a "colonial port city." In doing this, I try to explain how particular historical circumstances of Bombay/Mumbai bear heavily on its contemporary transformation. The discussion specifically centers on the historically produced inequalities. In chapter 3, I critically discuss the Shanghai model of development as it emerged in China. I argue that although the Shanghai model was a remarkable economic success, it was premised on unequal and anti-poor growth. Given this fact and the different socio-political realities of the two cities, I argue that it is not a good model for Mumbai. Thus, this chapter provides a critical comparative context to the discussion of Shanghaization of Mumbai. In chapter 4, I focus on the contingencies that produce Shanghaization as the discourse of growth and transformation in Mumbai. I also critically analyze this discourse itself and how explain how it emerged as a dominant city-centric growth strategy in India. In chapter 5, I highlight some contemporary "development" projects in Mumbai and the displacements engendered by them. In chapter 6, I analyze competing discourses of urban development emerging from the struggles of the urban poor, particularly the slum dwellers, street vendors, and former textile mill-workers. I discuss how these contestations enable alternative visions of development of Mumbai. I also highlight a few competing claims on Mumbai and the particular challenges they pose to the grand visions of transformation in Mumbai. Finally, in the conclusion section, I draw some general conclusions based on the study in the context of inclusive growth.

CHAPTER 1

INCLUSIVE GROWTH AND THE URBAN QUESTION

~On July 11, 2006 Mumbai a series of seven bombs in a span of 11 minutes ripped through the Western line of the Suburban Railway that left more than 200 people dead and 700 injured. While the front pages of local newspapers carried stories about the terrible tragedy, the Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh, commented, “No one can come in the path of our progress...[t]he wheels of our economy will move on.” Defying all predictions, India’s stock market rose by three percentage points on the morning after the bombings.¹⁸

~Just a few months before the bomb blasts, on December 3, 2005, the Prime Minister had launched one of the most ambitious urban renewal programs in the country aimed at changing the face of infrastructure and quality of life in Indian cities.¹⁹ Months later, the Prime Minister flagged-off the construction of a mega-infrastructure project in Mumbai—the Mumbai Metro Rail Project—the first metro project financed through public-private partnership in India. On that occasion, the Prime Minister remarked, “I have often said that Mumbai is not an ordinary city, its contribution to the creation of wealth in our country, the symbol of hopes and aspirations of a resurgent India... it is an embodiment of the spirit of India that India is out to embrace globalization...Mumbai symbolizes India to the external world.”²⁰

~Four years later in 2009, at the fourth anniversary of the launch of the mega urban renewal scheme (JNNURM), the Prime Minister (who was now in his second stint as the Prime Minister) said, “I wish to reiterate our government’s commitment to the development of the urban sector. This commitment stems from the recognition that the balanced development of the urban sector is an integral part of our strategy of *inclusive growth*... We will also work to widen and deepen urban renewal policies and reforms...we need to concentrate on the need for rural-urban integration.”²¹

The above quotes by the Prime Minister of India point to two key trends in contemporary globalization—first, the rise of emerging economies in Asia and the emergence of “inclusive

¹⁸ Mumbai bombers “will never win,” *BBC News*, July 12, 2006 http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/south_asia/5173646.stm

¹⁹ This program is referred to as the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM).

²⁰ PM lays foundation stone of phase-I of Mumbai Metro, June 21, 2006, <http://pmindia.nic.in/speech/content4print.asp?id=342>

²¹ PM’s address at the National Conference of the JNNURM, December 3, 2009 <http://pmindia.nic.in/speech.asp?id=859>. Emphasis added.

growth” as a hegemonic discourse in development policy (Harris 2005; Nayyar 2006; Nederveen Pieterse 2008; Prestowitz 2005; Kaplinsky and Dessner 2006; Rodrik and Subramanian 2004); second, the emergence of the urban as a critical development problematic within the emerging economies that seeks to balance high growth and reduction of poverty and inequality. This statement from the Eleventh Five Year Plan of India (2007-2012) bears testimony to the above fact: “Indian cities will be the locus and engine of economic growth over the next two decades, and the realization of an ambitious goal of 9—10 per cent growth in GDP depends fundamentally on making Indian cities much more livable, inclusive, bankable, and competitive” (Planning Commission, Government of India 2008:394). Further, it is prescribed that there should be a massive investment for infrastructure development in “prosperous cities,” if India desires to “continue on its current path” (MGI 2010).

Although, there is substantial literature in global and development studies that has addressed the dynamics of growth and inequality, there is insufficient attention paid to the urban question as an important mechanism mediating growth and inequality. My key argument is that the urban question lies at the heart of the emerging economies and their vision of inclusive growth and therefore, we need to pay sufficient attention to the emerging urban growth discourses and how they relate to inequality. In what follows, I trace the emergence of the inclusive growth discourse in a wider context of reconfiguration of development thinking in terms of what is called a “post/new Washington consensus.” Based primarily on the experience of the South, this new development paradigm focuses on broad based growth that balances high growth with inclusiveness. I later discuss the different articulations of the concept of “inclusive growth” and how cities are emerging as key actors in this inclusive growth framework. In the final section, I discuss the Indian case and show how urban development has emerged as a key

vector in the larger dynamic of growth and inequality in India. I thereby lay the foundation for the subsequent critique of India's city-centric growth strategy in the next few chapters based on the case of Mumbai.

A “Post-Washington Consensus”: Reimagining Growth and Development

It is argued that the “twenty-first century globalization” is markedly different on two accounts: a relative decline of American hegemony and neoliberalism and the emergence of new forces constituted by the emerging economies in the global South. The experience of neoliberal reforms of privatization, deregulation, and trade liberalization subsumed under what is famously called by Williamson (1990) as the “Washington consensus,” has not yielded desired results. Despite some recovery in the 1990s, growth in Latin America has remained limited and unequal; most of Africa, barring a few exceptions such as Botswana, experienced negative growth rates; even after decades of reform, former communist countries in Eastern Europe have not seen improvement in their economic situation since 1990s; moreover, there have been frequent crises in several regions of the world including Latin America, East Asia, Russia, Turkey and recently, the United States (Rodrik 2006; Commission on Growth and Development 2008).

The locus of new trade and finance has shifted to the emerging economies in the South (particularly in Asia) which are growing faster than the advanced economies of the North (Harris 2005; Nederveen Pieterse 2008; Palat 2009; Prestowitz 2005). If we consider Asia, in 2006 total exports from Developing Asia alone constituted 34.1 per cent of the world's exports.²² In 2005, Developing Asia received 21.8 per cent of the total FDI of the world, up from 1.2 per cent in 1980. The percentage share of global GDP of Developing Asia increased from 9 per cent in 1980 to 10.5 per cent in 2005. In terms of the growth rate, Developing Asia has maintained a steady

²² According to the Asian Development Bank, “Developing Asia” refers to its 44 developing member countries and Brunei Darussalam, an unclassified regional member (ADB 2012).

GDP growth rate of 5-6 per cent during 1980-2005. Much of this growth is driven by China and India. China maintained growth rates of a little more than 10 per cent during 1980-2000, decreasing slightly to 9.6 per cent in 2000-2005, while India maintained a steady growth rate of more than 6 per cent during 1980-2005 (Mahadevia 2008a). Although, the recent global recession has dented their growth slightly, it is still impressive in comparison to the advanced economies of the world (see Table 1 below).

Table 1. Trends in GDP growth (%)						
	Developing Asia	China	India	Major Industrial Economies		
				US	Eurozone	Japan
2007	10.1					
2008	6.7					
2009	6.0	9.2	8.4			
2010	9.1	10.4	8.4	3.0	1.9	4.4
2011	7.2	9.2	6.0	1.7	1.4	-0.7
2012 (projected)	6.9	8.5	7.0	2.0	-0.5	1.9
2013 (projected)	7.3	8.7	7.5	2.3	1	1.5

Source: Compiled from ADB (2012).

Not only has rapid growth in Asia stabilized the world economy, but it has resulted in dramatic improvements in the living standards in the region and an *absolute* reduction in the number of people living in poverty. During 1990–2010, average per capita GDP in Asia and the Pacific increased from \$1,633 to \$5,133. In the same period, around 716 million were lifted out of poverty as the proportion of the population living on or below the \$1.25-a-day poverty line fell from 53.9 per cent in 1990 to 21.5 per cent in 2008. Moreover, seventeen countries reduced poverty by more than 15 percentage points in the period (ADB 2012:38).

Based on the East Asian “miracle” in the early 1990s, there were calls for a “post Washington consensus” in development studies (Stiglitz 1998). According to Gore (2002:789), there was a “paradigmatic shift” in development thinking due to the challenge posed to Washington consensus by a new “Southern consensus” that converged around Latin American structuralism and East Asian developmentalism and which was largely at variance with the Washington consensus ideology. Unlike the Washington consensus which was based on a narrow goal of economic growth based on standardized prescriptions of macroeconomic stability, trade liberalization, and privatization, proponents of the post-Washington Consensus go beyond economic growth to include broader goals of sustainable and equitable development. In Stiglitz’s (1998) words:

We seek increases in living standards-including improved health and education-not just increases in measured GDP. We seek sustainable development, which includes preserving natural resources and maintaining a healthy environment. We seek equitable development, which ensures that all groups in society, not just those at the top, enjoy the fruits of development. And we seek democratic development, in which citizens participate in a variety of ways in making the decisions that affect their lives. (P. 31)

In recent times, the success of emerging economies in Asia has led to even bolder claims about the end of the Washington consensus. As Rodrik (2006) puts it, “the debate now is not over whether the Washington consensus is dead or alive, but over what will replace it” (p. 973). Guided by the insights of the report of the Commission on Growth and Development (2008), considered as a watershed in contemporary development thinking, Rodrik (2008) proclaimed the emergence of a “new Washington consensus” that is less prescriptive and more diagnostic and experimental in its approach toward growth. The report also goes beyond growth strategies to include health, education, and other social policies. Based on Rodrik’s (2008) assessment of the

Commission on Growth and Development report, Table 2 summarizes the differences between the old and the new Washington Consensus models.

Table 2. Washington Consensus Models: The Old and the New	
Old Washington consensus	New Washington consensus
Presumptive: strong preconceptions about the nature of the problem (government regulation, poor governance, too little public spending)	Diagnostic: relative agnosticism about what works
Laundry list of reforms. Simultaneous, rather than sequencing of reforms	Focuses on the most significant economic bottlenecks and “binding constraints”
Comprehensive reforms: liberalize trade, privatize public enterprises, deregulate prices, bring down inflation through monetary and fiscal retrenchment	Policy experimentation: relatively narrowly targeted initiatives in order to discover local solutions
Universal recipes—“model” institutional arrangements, “best practices,” rules of thumb	Suspicious of universal fixes. Influenced by China’s experimental gradualism since 1978 (spectacular episode of economic growth and poverty reduction)
Failed to generate much growth in those countries in Latin America and Africa	Each country must devise its own mix of remedies

Source: Compiled from Rodrik (2008).

Even in theorizing of growth and development, there is a shift toward non-neoclassical frameworks that are historically informed and institutionally specific and which take into account diverse social processes, incorporating insights from multiple disciplines. One such recent example is De Paula and Dymski’s *Reimagining Growth* (2005: 4), which states: “democratizing theory means, at a minimum, developing approaches to conceptual thinking about growth and development that are ‘open’ – that can respond interactively and inclusively to the concerns and perspectives of multiple interests, social constituencies, and perspectives.”

It is within this context that the discourse of inclusive growth needs to be understood. Along with this academic shift, the emergence of inclusive growth as a central development planning goal in countries such as China, India, and Vietnam is largely influenced by a not-so-widely discussed aspect of growth in emerging economies—increasing inequality.

Growth and Inequality

Why does inequality matter?

There are several reasons why inequality matters and should, therefore, be an important focus of development policy along with poverty reduction. First, inequality is important for growth. Studies have unanimously shown that, unlike poverty, growth has no impact on income distribution and that there is no virtuous circle between higher growth and lowering of inequality levels (Dollar and Kay 2002; Easterly 1999; Chen and Ravallion 1997; Deninger and Squire 1996). However, there is a deep connection between inequality and growth. It is observed that redistribution positively impacts growth (Easterly and Rebelo 1993; Perotti 1996) and that asset inequality (particularly land distribution) can undermine growth and pro-poor policies (Birdsall and Londono 1997; Deininger and Squire 1998). Policies that cater to better education, macroeconomic stability, and infrastructure are not only good not for growth but also for inequality. Therefore, as highlighted by the human development approach way back in the early 1990s, what matters is not growth, but the *quality* of growth (Haq 1995; Nederveen Pieterse 2010). Second, inequality also impacts poverty. High initial conditions of inequality slow down the pace of poverty reduction (Birdsall 2004). This is especially important for developing countries that are overwhelmed by inequalities produced historically through colonialism and consistent policy and market failures. Therefore, the *context* in which inequality rise also matters. Third, inequality can also undermine the political process, leading to political instability, particularly in countries with a weak and unrepresentative democratic politics (Birdsall 2004;

Nederveen Pieterse 2002).²³ Therefore, although growth is crucial for poverty reduction and in expanding the social sector, in order for it to be sustainable it has to be premised on equity and equality of opportunity.²⁴

The extent of inequality

There is another sub-plot to the story of the “new Asian dynamism.” While high-growth is celebrated by the popular media and the government, it has uneven and has accompanied deepening of rural and urban poverty and inequality in the emerging economies (Davis 2006; Dicken 2003; Nederveen Pieterse 2008a, 2008b; Sassen 2000a). The biggest challenge faced by these rapidly growing economies is to ensure that economic growth is sustainable and equitable. However, the recent experience has shown that inequality has increased globally, nationally, and regionally between the rural and urban areas.

Global inequality—Inequality is on the global map today, for obvious reasons. Although there is no historical data to measure the direction of change of global inequality (inequality between people, regardless of their nationality and where they live) it is found to be extremely high (Gini coefficient of 62-66) is suspected to be unparalleled in human history (Milanovic 2007).²⁵ If the data is broken down further we find that the top 5 per cent of the highest earners in the world receive almost one-third (33 per cent) of the world income, whereas, the bottom 5

²³ Spurred by increasing “mass incidents” of unrest in China (from 8700 in 1993 to 90,000 in 2010), China now spends more on its internal security than on its external defense. According to a 2010 report of the Chinese Finance Ministry, China spent 548.6 billion yuan (\$83.5 billion) on internal security, while it spent 533.5 billion yuan (\$81.2 billion) on national defense. Further, for 2012, the government plans to spend 624.4 billion yuan on public security, a 13.8 percent increase from 2010, and 601.2 billion yuan on defense, a 12.7 percent increase (See Jeremy Page, “Internal Security Tops Military in China Spending,” *China Real Time Report*, March 5, 2011).

²⁴ In the development literature, equity refers to *outcome* or results either based on historical circumstances or through market conditions, whereas equality of opportunity refers to *access* based on *starting points*. Addressing the former is more controversial in policy and is achieved through redistributive mechanisms, while the latter is more widely accepted and involves creating a merit-based opportunity structure through a provision of universal access to public services such as education and health.

²⁵ The Gini coefficient is a standard matrix used to measure inequality. It ranges from 0 (perfect equality) to 1 (perfect inequality). However, for convenience it is shown as a percentage by multiplying by 100. Gini coefficient at or greater than 40 is considered as the threshold for “high inequality.”

per cent receive only 0.2 per cent, a ratio of 165:1. Moreover, the top 10 per cent of the people in the world get half of the world income, while the rest of the 90 per cent receive the remaining 50 per cent (Milanovic 2007:39). Even in the Asian context, as shown below, remarkable success in growth and poverty reduction has accompanied an increase in inequality since early 1990s.

Inequality in Developing Asia—since the early 1990s to late 2000s, the overall Gini coefficient of Developing Asia increased from 39 to 46. Although it is lower in comparison to Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, if we take into account the trends in inequality, Developing Asia does not do too well. We find that during the last decade, most Sub-Saharan African countries and more than half of Latin American experienced a decline in inequality. However, in Developing Asia, 11 out of the 28 economies, covering 82 per cent of the region’s population, experienced increases in inequality. The Gini coefficient for China went up from 32.4 to 43.4 and for India it increased from 32.5 to 37.5 from early 1990s to late 2000s. Moreover, inequality in China and India has steadily increased during 1990-2000. If we compare inequality between top 20 per cent quintile and the bottom 20 per cent quintile we find that that ratio almost doubled in China, while in India it has increased moderately (see Table 3 below).

Table 3. Inequality Trends in China and India						
	Gini coefficients ²⁶		Annualized growth rate ²⁷	Quintile income ²⁸		Annualized growth rate
	1990s	2000s		1990s	2000s	
China (1990-2008)	32.4	43.4	1.6	5.1	9.6	3.6
India (1993-2010)	32.5	37.5	0.7	4.8	5.7	1.1

Source: Compiled from ADB (2012).

²⁶ Based here on per capita expenditures, the Gini coefficient ranges from 0 (perfect equality) to 1 (perfect inequality). For convenience, here and in following tables, it is multiplied by 100. Gini coefficient at or greater than 40 is considered as the threshold for “high inequality.”

²⁷ The annualized growth of the Gini coefficient refers to growth between the earliest available figure in the 1990s and the latest available figure in the 2000s.

²⁸ The quintile income (or expenditure) ratio is the ratio of the total income (or expenditure) of the top (richest) 20% of the population to that of the bottom (poorest) 20%.

Regional inequality—In terms of regional inequality, we find that the gap between urban and rural incomes in Developing Asia has increased. In China, the gap has increased remarkably since 1990s to late 2000s, whereas in India too there has been a moderate, but a steady increase (see Table 4 below).

Table 4. Urban-rural income gap 1990-2010²⁹					
	1990s	Mid-1990s	2000s	Mid-2000s	2010
China	1.74	1.80	2.08	2.27	2.37
India	1.25	1.25	1.25	1.25	1.33

Source: Compiled from ADB (2012).

When we look at the pattern of urban and rural inequality in China and India since early 1990s to late 2000s, we find that there has been a similar increase in urban and rural inequality (about 10 percentage points). However, inequality in rural areas is higher than urban areas. In the case of India, we find that since early 1990s inequality has been higher and increased faster in urban areas than rural areas. This is a clear indicator that the recent rapid growth has not been shared (see table 5). This alarming increase in inequality amidst unprecedented growth and poverty reduction in Asia point to two important facts: first, rapid growth in itself does not guarantee equity; second, as we shall see in the next section, inequality has direct implications for broad based growth.

²⁹ Although inequality is usually discussed in terms of inequality of incomes, the ADB estimates on India are based on the distribution of consumption as there are no official data on the distribution of household incomes in India.

Table 5. Pattern of inequality in China and India (Gini coefficient)			
		Urban	Rural
China	1990	25.59	30.57
	1993	28.47	32.13
	1996	29.09	33.62
	1999	31.55	35.39
	2002	33.46	38.02
	2005	34.8	35.85
	2008	35.15	39.4
India	1993	34.37	28.56
	2004	37.59	30.46
	2009/10	39.35	29.95

Source: Compiled from ADB (2012).

The Inclusive Growth Discourse

In the context of increasing inequality inclusive growth has emerged as the new mantra of development policy. The term has become popular among diverse actors that include government leaders, economists, planners, academic scholars, and in business circles. Unlike earlier development thinking, the consensus in development thinking is that trade-offs between growth and inequality are not inevitable. This fact is highlighted by a recent survey of Asian policy makers revealed that over 65 per cent of respondents agreed that inequality in their countries were very high and a majority believed that success in poverty reduction does not justify increase in inequality (ADB 2012). On the contrary, it is now believed that inequality is a serious impediment for inclusive and sustained growth (UNCDF 2012). Therefore, it is now believed that inequality warrants equal attention as poverty. This new change in thinking in policy is reflected in recent development policies across Asia, where countries have explicitly made goals to make growth more inclusive. In India, the guiding objective of the Eleventh Five

Year Plan (2007-2012) is “faster and more inclusive growth” and prioritizes “a growth process which yields broad-based benefits and ensures equality of opportunity for all” (Planning Commission, Government of India 2008a:2). The current Twelfth Five Year Plan of India (2012-2017) which is currently being drafted continues to focus on “faster, sustainable, and more inclusive growth” (Planning Commission, Government of India 2011).

Similarly, in China, the new leadership in 2002 underwent a rethinking in development thinking that focuses on balanced development and building a “harmonious society.” The new approach of “scientific development” (*kexue fazhanguan*) or “comprehensive, coordinated, and sustainable development” that was outlined by President Hu Jintao in 2003, sought to correct the earlier uneven economic growth that overly emphasized a GDP-centric economic growth that neglected social welfare (Fewsmith 2004). This new approach has been further crystallized in China’s Eleventh Five Year Plan (2006-10) (State Council of China 2006).

Although the discourse of inclusive growth has gained greater traction in recent years, scholars argue that it is in fact a revisionist Keynesian version of “redistribution with growth” that was popular in the 1970s and which fell out of favor with the onset of neoliberalism (Nederveen Pieterse 2010). It became evident in the 1960s that economic development did not necessarily lead to employment generation, reduction of poverty and inequality, and provision of basic needs. This led to alternative redistributive and basic needs framework of development that moved away from simple economic growth to broader questions of human development and social equity (Haq 1995). It was in this context that the World Bank adopted the approach of “redistribution with growth” and rather than arguing that there are trade-offs between growth and equity, they were seen as complementing each other. More specifically, the International Labor Organization’s (ILO) basic needs approach in the 1970s gave equal importance to growth and

redistribution and argued for a more balanced approach to development that catered to basic needs, participation, and employment generation (Brohman 1996:205). However, with the rise of neoliberalism in the early 1980s support for this approach gradually eroded.

The recent inclusive growth discourse marks a return of the “redistribution with growth” approach, however, albeit in a different context. In the following section, I discuss three contemporary approaches of the concept that have significantly informed development policy: the Commission on Growth and Development (2008), the Asian Development Bank, and the World Bank.

Growth Report: Strategies for Sustained Growth and Inclusive Development (henceforth the GR) (Commission on Growth and Development 2008)—Chaired by Nobel Laureate Michael Spence, the task of this independent commission was to understand how developing countries can achieve fast, sustained, and equitable growth. The GR specifically targets policy makers in the developing world and is a particularly important starting point for the discussion of inclusive growth.

The GR begins with a notion that growth is a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for broader development. According to the GR inclusiveness is an essential ingredient of any successful and sustainable growth strategy. As a concept, inclusiveness “encompasses equity, equality of opportunity, and protection in market and employment transitions.” By “equity,” the GR refers to *outcomes* created by the market. In this context, policy plays a critical role in constraining these outcomes through appropriate redistributive mechanisms, spending programs, and funding of service provision as markets do not play an equalizing role. By “equality of opportunity,” the GR refers to *access* to various opportunities. Thus, systematic inequality of opportunity can prove to be detrimental to the growth process as it can lead to political conflicts

and therefore should not involve any trade-offs. Equality of opportunity can be addressed through universal access to public services such as education and health and a meritorious selection system in both the government and private sector.

Based on the above notion of inclusiveness, the GR makes particular recommendations that can bring about an inclusive growth:

- ~Maintaining high rates of public investment in infrastructure, education, and health, achieved through national savings (20–25 percent or higher) rather than borrowings.
- ~A balanced approach during the rural to urban transition that involves increased investments in the agriculture sector in a predominantly rural workforce such as Indian and China.
- ~Protections and safety nets for people during job transitions and protecting rights of labor.
- ~Not to resist urbanization, but to make it more orderly and manageable
- ~Addressing the upper end of income distribution through taxation and appropriate spending programs

The Asian Development Bank—the second approach of inclusive growth that has emerged within the Asian context is that of the Asian Development Bank (ADB). ADB’s strategy of inclusive growth is explained in a key paper, “Inclusive Growth: Toward a Prosperous Asia: Policy Implications” (Ali and Zhuang 2007). ADB’s strategy of inclusive growth is somewhat narrow compared to Commission on Growth and Development as it more market-focused and business friendly. Further it gives more importance to opportunity, rather than outcomes of inequality. In ADB’s strategy, inclusive growth is more about creating “growth with equal opportunities” (Ali and Zhuang 2007:10). The two main pillars of ADB’s inclusive growth strategy are: a) sustainable growth that creates and enlarges opportunities and (b) broadening access to these opportunities to ensure that members of society can participate in and benefit from growth. However, the ADB strategy is less redistributive in its approach and steers away from targeting poverty directly to focus on identifying market and government failures that

constrain inclusive growth. Further, this strategy there is a far lesser role of the government, whose responsibility is to develop and maintain an enabling environment for business.

The World Bank—the third approach of inclusive growth is that of the World Bank (2009a). The World Bank approach of inclusive growth focuses on the *pace* and *pattern* of growth. Along with sustaining rapid pace of growth which is crucial for poverty reduction, it also focuses on its sustainability in the long run based on broad-based sectors and including large part of the country's labor force. Similar to ADB, the World Bank approach too is more market-heavy and emphasizes that government's role was to remove constraints to growth and creating a level playing field for investment. Even the idea of equality of opportunity is discussed in terms of access to markets, resources, and unbiased regulatory environment for businesses and individuals. Further, discouraging income distributive schemes, it proposes that inclusive growth should focus on long-term productive employment.

To sum up, one can summarize the main features of inclusive growth based on the three approaches discussed above:

1. Growth is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for human development.
2. Growth premised on inequality is unsustainable.
3. Growth is vital for poverty reduction. However, sustainable growth reduces poverty more effectively. For growth to be sustainable it must be pro-poor.
4. Therefore, inclusive growth is not just about the pace but also the pattern of growth.
5. Increasing public investments in infrastructure, education, and health is crucial for creating an inclusive growth.
6. Governments are key actors in facilitating sustained and inclusive growth and can ensure that benefits of growth are widely shared.

7. There is a need for providing safety nets to counter market imbalances.
8. There is a need for a long-term growth perspective that is focused on generating productive employment rather than direct redistribution of income.

Making Urbanization Work

As discussed earlier, the urban has become a key problematic in inclusive growth with regard to balancing growth and poverty reduction. There is a growing sense of urgency with regard to urbanization in the developing world as highlighted by this quote from *Urbanization and Growth*, a report published by the Commission on Growth and Development (2009:xvi)

Rapid and sustained growth entails rapid and sustained urbanization. But, if mishandled, the growth of cities poses problems that can derail growth. Developing countries must accomplish in a few decades what today's industrialized countries achieved over a century or more" (p:xvi).

Driven by this sense of urgency, the writing on the wall is that we should "make urbanization work" for growth and poverty reduction by, first, harnessing its potential for economic growth; second, by managing the negative effects of economic success of cities—congestion, regional inequality, and high prices of land and housing (Commission on Growth and Development 2009; World Bank 2009a). The second challenge is particularly important for inclusive growth in terms of ensuring that the benefits of growth are widely shared.

In light of the above thinking the new approach in development policy recognizes that urbanization is not only inevitable, but is a necessary condition for economic growth and poverty reduction (World Bank 2009a). Therefore, the idea is not to resist urbanization, but to make it more orderly and manageable (Commission on Growth and Development 2008). This approach is largely influenced by the fact that in the last 25 years countries that have registered a sustained high growth of seven per cent or more have all done so through manufacturing and services based in urban areas (Commission on Growth and Development 2008). Therefore, given the past

record, there can be no growth without urbanization and industrialization. Growth occurs due to a structural shift in the economy from agriculture to urban activities. Urbanization is therefore a “geographical corollary of industrialization” characterized by a shift of workers from their rural farms to factories in cities (Committee on Growth and Development 2008:58). The reason why growth gravitates in cities is because of what economists call “agglomeration economics.”

Clustering of activities together provides economies of scale and scope and easy flow of information which are crucial for capital accumulation. Therefore, with advancement in technology and globalization and financialization of markets, “global cities” have become centers of this agglomerative growth (Sassen 1991; 2001). For example, in 2005, the largest 100 cities in the world accounted for 25 per cent of global GDP, while the top 30 cities together accounted for around 16 per cent of world GDP (PricewaterhouseCoopers 2007).

However, the process of urbanization is rarely smooth, as infrastructure and public services often fail to meet the needs of an increasing urban population. Further, economic success of cities in predominantly rural societies such as India and China has led to glaring income and regional disparities, which in the long-run is detrimental to growth. Therefore, along with growth, it is imperative to manage the extent of inequality.

Urbanization is a particularly important challenge for the developing world. In 2008, for the first time in human history, the urban population of the world surpassed the rural. In the next two decades, it is projected that another two billion people would move to the cities and 90 per cent of this urban population growth is expected to occur in the developing world. Due to the emergence of the new geography of trade the locus of urban restructuring has shifted to the large and expanding metropolises of Asia, Latin America, and parts of Africa; which are becoming the “production hearths of the new globalism” (Smith 2002: 436). In this context, multilateral aid

agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have increasingly focused their attention on cities as “engines of growth” and have channeled their efforts into improving the infrastructure in cities in order to facilitate growth (World Bank 1994).

In 2010, the World Bank announced a “new global urban strategy” for cities in the developing world that focuses on “harnessing urbanization for growth and poverty reduction (World Bank 2009a). At the launch of this new urban strategy, the then President of the World Bank Robert Zoellick announced that “urbanization is a vital phase of development, and if managed well, it can be a key driver of long-term economic growth in a country. Climate change, jobs, poverty, education, health, infrastructure—these are all development challenges closely intertwined with cities.” The new World Bank approach of “managed urbanization” involves the following features: more intervention from the national state in cities in critical policy areas such as land and housing markets; updating planning regulations to absorb new residents; fostering agglomeration benefits to enhance growth and poverty reduction; and a focus on secondary cities which are urbanizing very rapidly. Specifically in terms of urban economic growth the Bank recommends increasing focus on city management, finance, and governance; pro-poor policies to target urban poverty and slum upgradation; a progressive urban land and housing market; and a safe and sustainable environment (World Bank 2009a).

Growth and Urbanization in India

India has witnessed a remarkable growth in the last few decades making it one of the fastest growing economies in the world. For the first three decades following independence in 1947, India’s growth rate remained rather sluggish at around 3-4 per cent per annum (Kohli 2006; Government of India 2009) which came to be referred to as the “Hindu rate of growth.” However, there was a marked acceleration in India’s growth rate which increased to 5.6 per cent

per annum during the period 1980-2004 (Nayyar 2006). The growth rate further accelerated in the 2000s. During the Tenth Plan period (2002-03 to 2006-07), India achieved an average growth rate of 7.8 per cent per annum. The financial crisis dented India's growth in the next plan period (2007-08 to 2011-12), declining to 6.8 per cent for the year 2008-09. The economy recovered to register 8 and 8.6 per cent in the next two years (Ahluwalia 2011). However, in last two years the growth has slowed down the cause of which is attributed to strong inflationary trends and a slowdown in the global economy. In 2011-12 it decline to 6.2 per cent and even further to 5.0 in 2012-13. Nonetheless, if you look at the combined annual growth rate for the decade ending in 2012-13 it remained an impressive 7.9 per cent (Government of India 2013:1).

There is a debate about the timing of India's high growth "take-off." On the one hand, some scholars emphasize that the widespread economic reforms introduced in 1991 contributed to India's subsequent high growth (Ahluwalia 2002; Srinivasan and Tendulkar 2003; Panagriya 2004). On the other hand, there are other scholars who argue that there a "surge" in India's growth actually occurred a decade prior to the formal inauguration of reforms in 1991, where the growth rate actually doubled (De Long 2002; Kohli 2006; Rodrik and Subramanian 2004; Virmani 2004). According to these scholars, the real structural break from the "Hindu rate of growth" actually occurred in 1980 and India's growth rate in the decade 1980-81 to 1990-91 increased to 5.5 per cent per annum from 3.5 per cent per annum during the earlier three decades (1950-51 to 1979-80) (Nayyar 2006). Some even argue that the India's growth performance cannot be attributed to economic liberalization at all. Nayyar (2006), using a long-term historical perspective that takes into account the "long-twentieth century," argues that the turning point in India's economic growth actually took place in 1951, when India's growth improved significantly from the past and it was respectable compared to the performance of other countries

at that time. Nayyar (2006) attributes this turn around in performance in the 1950s to the birth of political democracy and the mediating role played by the state between economic and social development. Therefore, changes introduced in the 1950s were far more significant in comparison to changes in the 1990s as 1950s marked a change in both the economic and political landscape of the country. Nayyar (2006) does admit that the changes introduced in 1990s were also significant as it marked a shift in the development approach of the country from redistribution and concerns of equity to pursuit of growth. However, according to him the initial conditions for growth were laid in the three decades preceding reforms due to the importance given to higher education, science and technology, other institutional capacities.

However, as pointed out earlier, some scholars argue that the momentum of India's growth was created a decade prior to 1991 (De Long 2002; Kohli 2006; Rodrik and Subramanian 2004; Virmani 2004). In this context, it is argued that it was at that time that a nascent "growth first" strategy was created in India by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi which marked a shift from the earlier Nehruvian socialist model of distributive justice to growth (Kohli 2006; Rodrik and Subramanian 2004). According to Rodrik and Subramanian (2004:4), growth first "unleashed the animal spirits of the Indian private sector in the early 1980s due to an attitudinal shift in the national government that favored private business marking a shift in the rhetoric of *Garibi Hatao* (eradicate poverty) to growth. There are several factors cited for this shift toward a pro-growth alliance of state and business. According to Kohli (2006:1255), the combined effect of failure of anti-poverty programs; ineffective socialism that prevented growth; success of the green revolution in the 1960s led by private producers; and a poorly performing public sector, created an atmosphere in which the private sector seemed like a natural ally for growth. However, the nature of these reforms did not confirm to the path prescribed by the "Washington

consensus.” Rodrik and Subramanian (2004) make a distinction between a “pro-market” and a “pro-business” model. Unlike, the pro-market reforms which was premised on the free market and competition that supported new entrants and consumers, the pro-business reforms introduced in India were closer to the East Asian model of development that involved a highly interventionist state that relied on indigenous businesses in promoting economic growth and which selectively linking their economies to the world (Rodrik and Subramanian 2004; Kohli 2006). This new growth strategy provided several benefits to big businesses such as tax benefits, removing earlier licensing restrictions by diluting the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act (MRTP), introducing a special legislation that discouraged strikes (Kohli 2006).

As a result of the new growth strategy by Indira Gandhi (and later her son Rajiv Gandhi), the 1980s saw a substantial improvement in rates of investment and growth rate (especially in Industry) as well as growth of private sector in the Indian economy.³⁰ India adopted a wider set of reforms in 1991 that included further delicensing of the private sector, removal of MRTP restrictions, tax concessions to big business, and labor reforms (Kohli 2006:1363).³¹ Due to external factors such as the second petroleum price hike in 1981 that increased India’s import costs significantly, India entered into a loan agreement with the IMF for almost \$ 5 billion in 1981 to avoid a foreign exchange crunch. As a result of this, India also had to obey certain IMF structural adjustment prescriptions such as reducing social and public spending to cut the budgetary deficit. However, India’s opening up of economy remains fairly modest, compared to this the internal deregulation has been faster (Kohli 2006).

The Indian growth story has been one of high GDP growth, but primarily driven by the growth in the service sector. Not all sectors of the economy have grown at the same pace as is

³⁰ Along with the established big business such as Tata and Birla, the pro-business strategy also enabled newer companies such as Reliance to grow powerful.

³¹ For more details on the 1991 reforms see Jenkins (1999).

reflected in the relatively low agricultural growth rate, low-quality employment, poor education, inadequate healthcare services, rural-urban divide, social inequalities, and regional disparities (Kumar 2009). The Indian government too has officially recognized that growth has not been equitable and has left out certain states, regions, and people (Government of India 2009). The percentage of the population below the official poverty line has come down from 36 per cent in 1993–94 to 28 per cent in 2004–05. However, it is still high and its rate of decline has not accelerated along with the growth in GDP. Poverty among certain marginalized groups, for example the Scheduled Tribes (STs) has remained unaffected. Illiteracy still is still a big problem, with almost 304 million people, making India the country with the highest number of illiterate people in the world. Further, growth rate in agriculture has slowed down since the late 1990s, leading to growing rural-urban divide and severe distress in rural areas in some regions (Planning Commission, Government of India 2008a:1). The most glaring proof of increasing inequality in India is the alarming increase in farmers' suicides in India (Vaidyanathan 2006). According to national statistics, there were 270,940 farm suicides in India since 1995 is 270,940.³² Inequality in urban areas too has increased since mid-2000s and remained higher than rural areas during 1950-2000 (Weisskopf 2011). Growth has benefitted city-dwellers more than their rural counterparts. Further, studies have also found that the pro-reform growth has had a pro-rich bias which is more striking in the urban areas than the rural areas (Sarkar and Mehta 2010). The post-reform growth has also been anti-poor, as highlighted by a study which found that the per capita consumption by the urban poor increased only half as much as the per capita national average rate of growth of consumer expenditure (Sen and Himanshu 2004). After taking stock of India's growth experience, I will now focus on its urban component, which is becoming increasingly important to sustain the growth momentum

³² P. Sainath, "Farm suicides rise in Maharashtra, State still leads the list," *The Hindu*, July 3, 2012.

The urban context of growth in India

It is argued that cities are going to be extremely crucial for India's future growth. Although, India's share of urban population remains small due to the relatively slow pace of urbanization (28 per cent of the total population), the urban share of India's growth has steadily increased. For example, the contribution of the urban sector to India's GDP has increased from 29 per cent in 1950–51 to 47 per cent in 1980–81. Currently, the urban sector contributes to 62–63 per cent of India's GDP and this is expected to increase to 75 per cent by 2021 (Planning Commission, Government of India 2008b:394). With the increasing share of urban growth, India's pace of urbanization is also set to increase. It is projected that India's urban population will increase from 340 million in 2008 to 590 million in 2030 (40 per cent of India's total population). Most urban population is concentrated in India's large cities. Cities with population over 100,000 account for 68.9 per cent of the urban population and this share has been growing (Planning Commission, Government of India 2008b:394).

However, this urban-led growth has not been inclusive. Urban poverty remains high in India. Although the share of the urban poor in the urban population has fallen, there has been an increase in the absolute number of urban poor. *India-Urban Poverty Report 2009*—a report brought out by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation of India, supported by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the first of its kind in India—highlights some interesting findings which are worth looking at length:

~25 per cent of the people in urban areas (over 80 million people) live in poverty and about 61.80 million people were living in slums.

~There is an “urbanization of poverty” in India reflected by the fact that most States in India reported higher incidence of poverty in urban areas than rural areas, although at the national level rural poverty is higher.

~The incidence of decline of urban poverty has not accelerated with GDP growth. The report explicitly states that “a substantial portion of the benefits provided by public agencies are cornered by middle and upper income households” while 54.71 per cent of urban slums do not even have access to toilets.

~Therefore, the report warns that “urban poverty will become a major challenge for policymakers in our country as the urban population in the country is growing, so is urban poverty.” The report points out that urban poverty is related to several other problems such as housing and shelter, water, sanitation, health, education, social security and livelihoods, and also to the special needs of vulnerable groups like women, children, and the aged.

~There has been an increase in migration in India and that poverty incidence was higher among rural to urban migrants. This shows that economic reforms in India have not been able to create much employment opportunities in small and medium towns and in rural areas.

Despite these pressing urban problems, the policy focus on urban areas has been relatively modest. Urban development remains a state subject, but is heavily determined by central intervention. Planning in India has always centered on the rural sector due to political considerations, and in the initial three decades after independence the approach toward the urban sector remained ad-hoc and piecemeal (Government of India 2009; Sharma and Shaban 2006). This has mainly contributed to the haphazard growth of Indian cities. It was only during the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) that for the first time the process of urbanization was viewed as part of larger economic development. To strengthen this view, the First National Commission on Urbanization was set up in 1986, which recognized the role played by cities in economic development. According to the Commission, cities such as Mumbai, “have been generators of national wealth and, if they were to collapse, the economy would receive a grievous body blow...the Commission feels that it is a matter of top most national priority to not only save the national cities but to help them revive their economies.”

It is not a matter of coincidence that increasing attention on urban development happened at around the same time when the “growth first” strategy was adopted by the Indian government

in the early 1980s. This view of “cities in economic development” was further reiterated in the economic reforms in the 1990s. In 1992, India introduced political reforms of decentralized planning and devolution of power under the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act. These reforms were initiated to create a more participative and decentralized planning process in which cities would have the necessary autonomy for planning and governance. As part of political decentralization, ward committees were to be established in municipalities with a population of more than 300,000. It was also recommended to set up Metropolitan Planning Committees and District Planning Committees. However, only a few large municipal bodies benefited with this as most local bodies lacked the necessary capabilities to generate own funds (Sengupta 2006).

As pointed out earlier, the introduction of economic reforms in the 1990s and increasing role of market-driven development reinforced the role of large cities where most of the economic activity has concentrated, leading to the neglect of small and medium cities. For example, eight largest million-plus cities in India account for over one-third of total bank deposits, over 50 per cent of bank credit, and one-third of the FDI (Sharma and Shaban 2006). To illustrate this imbalanced urban development further, let us take the example of Mumbai, the subject of this study. Over one-third of the total urban population of Maharashtra State is concentrated in the Mumbai region alone. Further, half of the “net share in domestic product” of the state comes from two industrial belts of which Mumbai is one (Sharma and Shabhan 2006).

In recent times, development planning in India has given importance to inclusive urban development. The Eleventh Five Year plan recognizes that rapid economic growth will inevitably lead to an increase in urbanization based on large economies of agglomeration provided by cities. In this context, the biggest obstacle for rapid growth is inadequate urban infrastructure. However, in creating new urban infrastructure, the plan puts emphasis on equity

and inclusiveness. The plan talks about creating a distributive model of urbanization that would ensure that migration flows do not concentrate in any particular city or cities (Planning Commission, Government of India 2011b:400).

To improve urban infrastructure and the quality of life the Indian government launched one of the most ambitious urban renewal programs in the country in 2005 called the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) for the integrated development of urban infrastructure and services in 63 cities across India. Around Rs. 50,000 crore of reform-linked central assistance was to be provided under this scheme over a period of seven years. However, Kundu (2011:12) criticizes this mission for perpetuating “exclusionary urbanization” which he describes as “the indecision or purposive ambiguity in the Plan and policy linked documents concerning urban development [that] has deprived the small and medium towns of the resources badly required for providing critical infrastructure and services” and expresses a need for a more spatially distributed model of urban development (Kundu 2011). The finance generation for funding infrastructure is based on generating revenue through external borrowing, public-private partnerships, and through financial instruments such as bonds. However, small and medium towns face a severe handicap in this regard. Kundu and Samanta (2011:62-63) highlight that only 58 per cent of the urban population has been covered under the JNNURM and that too within more developed states and metropolitan cities. Further, within the JNNURM “there is greater bias on improving the efficiency in the functioning of the overall city economy and meeting the infrastructural deficiencies at the macro-level rather than addressing the issues of distributional inadequacy and improving the access of the poor to these (Cited in Mahadevia 2011:57).

Recently the approach of inclusive growth in India has been questioned on grounds of lacking a clear vision and strategy (Oommen 2011; Suryanarayana 2008). The draft Twelfth Five

Year Plan acknowledges that “to achieve inclusiveness...requires multiple interventions, and success depends not only on introducing new policies and government programs, but on *institutional and attitudinal changes*” (Planning Commission, Government of India 2011:5, emphasis added). However, there is no systematic reform strategy offered, other than a few staple government programs. In this regard, Oommen (2011) points out that India’s vision of inclusive growth treats growth and inclusiveness as separate. In this regard, Oommen (2011:159) states that “inclusiveness is not a mitigating act, but a strategy of participation in the social production (growth) process and settlement of claims on the product on a fair basis.”

Having highlighted the crucial relationship between inclusive growth and urbanization, in the next chapter I analyze the development of Bombay as a “colonial port city.” I focus on key historical processes that inform Mumbai’s contemporary unequal urban context. As highlighted earlier, high initial conditions of inequality slows down the pace of poverty reduction, therefore, our contemporary analysis of urban development needs to be informed by the historical processes that produce inequalities (Birdsall 2004).

CHAPTER 2

AN UNEQUAL CITY: THE MAKING OF BOMBAY/MUMBAI

~I will not claim to possess the prophetic insight to foresee what is in store for Bombay. But as it has adopted the happy motto of *Urbs prima in Indis*, it may be hoped that this will prove of good augury, and that among other privileges Bombay will own that of priority among the Indian cities for longevity in undecaying prosperity (da Cunha [1900] 2004:6).

~Urban landscapes come to refract various layers of sedimentation—of past uses and organization—as well as to embody a range of possible meanings and actions falling outside the shifting levels of specification brought to bear on these landscapes by the prevailing and....often fragmentary apparatuses of control (Simone 2004:14).

Any contemporary attempts of redevelopment of Mumbai (as discussed in the subsequent chapters) reflect, as well as confront, the seemingly insurmountable challenges posed by the existing inequalities in the city. These inequalities are not just found within the city, but are also seen regionally in terms of how cities emerged historically as privileged sites of concentrated economic activity and investment in India. Therefore, for a deeper understanding of contemporary urban redevelopment in Mumbai, we need to examine the long-term historical factors that shaped the city. The new urban experiments are not introduced *tabula rasa* in the city, but jostle with inherited institutional frameworks, patterns of socio-spatial development, and power geometries.

Cities and *Longue Durée* Globalization

One of the key features of the contemporary phase of globalization is the *re-emergence* of cities as central nodes in the world economy.³³ Therefore, it is increasingly recognized that urbanization can no longer be understood solely on the basis of the political economy of regions

³³ The emphasis on the term “re-emergence” is to highlight the fact that if one takes into account a longer historical approach of understanding globalization, cities have remained key sites that articulated cross-cultural exchanges.

or within the boundaries of nation states and there is a need for an “analytic disarticulation of cities and nations” (Davis 2005:97). The world systems theory provides a key analytical frame to understand how processes of urbanization were connected to structural changes in the world economy (Braudel 1986; Wallerstein 1994; 2004). Influenced by such an approach, the “world city” (Friedmann ([1986] 1995) and the “global city” (Sassen 1991; 2001) have emerged as key concepts informing the discussion of cities and contemporary globalization. However, the dominant world/global city paradigm has ignored the long-term historical context within which cities articulated the relationship between the global and the local and therefore exaggerate the historical uniqueness of contemporary urban transformations.

Scholars advocating a *longue durée* globalization approach have documented that cities, as key “nodes,” were engaged in wider circuits of production, exchange, and culture throughout history (Abu-Lughod 1989; Arigghi 1994; Braudel 1986; Brenner 2001; Gills and Thompson 2006; King 1990). According to Brenner (2001:127), *the longue durée* historical analysis resuscitates “standard interpretations of contemporary urban restructuring in the broad geohistorical context of earlier rounds of globally induced transformations within each city.” Doing this enables us to understand how certain locally specific factors, processes, and developments have enabled cities to acquire certain world city functions in the contemporary context. Therefore, rather than understanding global forces as macro structural background conditions, the long-term historical perspective incorporates a “path dependent” analysis in which earlier historical events provide a causal context for subsequent development (Brenner 2001:127-8).

Employing such a long-term globalization perspective, this chapter tries to historicize the contemporary self-conscious project of globalizing Mumbai. I will do this through a path-

dependent analysis of the development of the city that takes into account the local specificity of the place. For this I will use two analytical frames: Bombay/Mumbai as a “port city” and as a “colonial city.” The first analytical frame emphasizes the dimension of human interconnectivity primarily through trade and the evolution of port cities as key nodes in these trade networks (Rennstich 2006). Although contemporary globalization makes the world more interconnected, the interconnected world is also segmented in many ways. Therefore, the second frame of “colonial city” stresses on the unequal nature of power and highlights how contemporary inequalities in Mumbai were historically produced through colonial urban development which primarily served the interests of the colonial elite (King 1976).

Port cities and maritime trade networks

Rennstich’s (2006) *longue durée* approach understands globalization as an “evolutionary process in the making for an extended period of human history rather than a unique occurrence that started in the latter part of the twentieth century” (p.185). Each new long wave of global change builds upon past patterns of change and is carried forward through an “evolutionary logic” driven by human agency through the innovative use of resources, thereby strengthening the “global layers of interactions” (Rennstich 2006:184-85). In the evolution of the global system from land to maritime trade, port-centered world cities began to play an increasingly important role as “nodes” that externalized socio-economic and political networks. However, this evolutionary logic of change does not have a linear dynamic in terms of a constantly increasing level of global interaction. This historical evolution is marked by periods of “punctuation” brought about by political and military obstruction of trade that alters certain path-dependent tendencies resulting in the system becoming internally oriented until a new phase of externally-oriented evolutionary dynamic sets in. According to this model, it was around 900 CE that the modern era of

globalization began, driven by the expansion of maritime trade by Sung China.³⁴ This externalizing tendency was punctuated at around 1850 with the introduction of a relatively internal-oriented industrial system. With the growth of digital technologies in recent years, there is a re-emergence of an externally-oriented global system, the momentum for which was set in the late twentieth century through a transformation in the communication technologies through the invention of the telephone, typewriters, and electrical telegraph (Rennstich 2006:197).

The world city system also evolved by adapting to military and political “blockages” that disrupted existing trade networks, giving rise to new connections and nodes and also to new systems. Rennstich identifies five such blockages in the evolution of the world system. The first two blockages led to a change in trade from land-based Silk Road system to a maritime-based Spice Route system, leading to importance of port cities such as Rome and Alexandria. The next two blockages led to a shift from the preindustrial Silk Route to an industrial Atlantic system, leading to the increasing importance of cities such as Canton, Cairo, Genoa, Venice, and later Lisbon, Seville, Amsterdam, and London. Finally, the fifth blockage marked a transition to an information-based system based on digital communication, leading to the importance of cities such as New York, San Francisco, London, Tokyo, and Seoul (Rennstich 2006:189).³⁵ Thus, Rennstich (2006) finds that broadly there have been three distinct network systems in the modern global system: the commercial maritime system, the industrial production system, and the

³⁴ Rennstich (2006) argues that period is crucial as it laid out the “preconditions” for the development of the modern era of globalization characterized by more global networks based on innovations in communication (printing, oceanic travel), military technology (e.g. gunpowder) and trade (e.g. media of exchange). This expansion of global networks was led by Sung China through a commercial maritime system which was only later developed more fully by the European empires (pp. 190-91).

³⁵ The first blockage appeared when Parthia blocked the Silk Roads in 25 BCE, leading to Romans taking the Sea route. During the second blockage, Persia blocked Byzantium in 550 CE, leading to an alternative land-based route. The third blockage was due to the Northern tribes in China at around 800-1100 CE during which the Sung dynasty expanded the earlier maritime. During the fourth blockage, the Muslim powers blocked Europe in 1400-1500 CE leading to Europeans finding the Cape route and crossing the Atlantic. Finally, the fifth blockage occurred around 1850 CE when Britain was blocked by other colonial powers leading to independent communication networks by the UK and the US (Rennstich 2006: Table 11.2, p. 189).

emerging digital commercial system. Both the commercial maritime and digital system displayed more external network relations, whereas the industrial phase was more internally oriented. In terms of the path-dependent analysis of the development of the modern global system, Rennstich (2006) describes a “three-step” path-dependent evolution of the global system in which the Phoenician maritime commercial system contributed to the growth of a global maritime external commercial system which is now currently being transformed into an external network system based on digital communication. According to Rennstich (2006), the Phoenician network system (1100 BCE-850 BCE) centered on current regions of Lebanon and Syria, was the first truly transcontinental system based on maritime nodes of world cities in three different continents. This led to the emergence of cities such as Byblos, Tyre, and Arwad with the larger Assyrian Empire. Later these maritime links were widened by maritime powers of Portugal, the Netherlands, and England. Through the voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1497-99, the Portuguese were able to link the Asian maritime trade with the Atlantic. During the seventeenth century the Dutch, along with the trade with the East, were engaged in an Atlantic triangular trade between Europe, Africa, and the Americas, which was later contested and extended by England after 1650 through trade in mass-consumed goods, as a result of which London emerged as the major financial node in the world economy. The emerging digital system marks a return to an externally oriented network system replacing the internally-oriented industrial system in place since mid-nineteenth century. It is precisely its digital nature and the possibilities it opens up that differentiate it from the previous external network system. This new system which is based on the use of digital technologies powered by the internet, enables much deeper integration and a much wider impact in terms of facilitating organization and institutional changes. The United States due to its wider reach of digital infrastructure is a central node in this new information

system with other countries linked to the US. It is in this context that the current re-emergence of cities (“global cities”) as important nodes that articulate transnational flows of goods, capital, and people is to be understood.

The colonial city and unequal urban development

The above discussion on nodes and networks helps us in understanding the historical evolution of contemporary “global cities,” thereby problematizing the supposed novelty of some of the discussion on contemporary urbanization. However, the main drawback of such network-based analysis is that it does not adequately focus on the role of power and ideology in shaping global change. Even though Rennstich (2006) acknowledges the role of human agency in driving global systemic change, the agency is assumed to be power-neutral. In this context, the analytic of the “colonial city” is more suitable in understanding the historical role of power in shaping contemporary inequalities in postcolonial cities such as Bombay/Mumbai.

According to (King 1976:7), a “colonial city” is “that urban area in the colonial society most typically characterized by the physical segregation of its ethnic, social, and cultural component groups, which resulted from the processes of colonialism.” Therefore, King (1976:18, emphasis added) prefers to use the term “urban development” rather than “urban growth” to underscore the importance of understanding urban change *as a planned and directed process*. King (1976:24) argues that colonial planning represents an attempt of colonial powers to experiment many of the planning theories in the colonial societies before they were adopted by their own governments in the metropolitan society. King further asserts that it was in the particular context of colonial India, between the eighteenth and twentieth century, that the “modern,” industrial phase of colonial urbanization was introduced. According to King (1976), culture, economic-technological order and the power structure are the three basic components of

colonialism. Therefore, in the specific context of British colonialism, King (1976) understood the impact of colonialism on urban development in the colonial society as being typically Western (culturally British), capitalist-industrial (economic-technological order) and colonial (power structure). Castells (1972) used the term “dependent urbanization” to characterize the relationship between the colonial city and the metropolitan economy. The urbanization of the colonial society was dependent upon the industrialization of the metropolitan society or as Simone (2004:139) puts it, it was in context of an “enforced engagement with the European world.” This engagement disrupted traditional market structures and the colonial city, segregated from its hinterland, was employed in the service of the metropolitan economy. This dominance-dependence relationship is also seen at the city level where there was a clear demarcation between the native and the European parts of the city, where the European quarter was dependent on the labor of the native quarter. This segregation between the two sectors is observed in architectural landscapes of postcolonial cities and the term “dual city” is used to describe this legacy (Abu-Lughod 1965). Even in terms of provision of services, amenities such as roads, recreational space, water, electricity lines, sewers, housing, shopping and hotels, were all concentrated in the European sector. In contrast to this, there was severe neglect and underinvestment in the native quarters of the colonial city (King 1976:282).

Scholars have used the term “unintended city” to describe the invisible, nonetheless vital, dependence of the urban elites on the poor.³⁶ Simone (2004) argues that the historical legacy of this dependency can be observed in postcolonial contexts characterized by the vestiges of the colonial state and the urban elite, whose values are culturally similar to that of the metropolitan past. Simone (2004:280) further argues that in the contemporary context, this transfer of

³⁶ The term “unintended city,” originally used by Jai Sen (1976), has been used by Ashis Nandy (1998:2) to describe the world of the urban poor as a city “that was never a part of the formal ‘master plan’ but always implicit in it.”

metropolitan values continues through various “development models,” whereby, “cultural categories are assumed to be universal,” giving rise to “new modes of dependence” through the transfer of development “models” and “techniques.”

Colonialism not only shaped a particular nature of urban development, but also led to larger structural and organizational changes in the systems of production, governance, and knowledge production. As Simone (2001) observes in the case of Africa, the colonial project of urbanization involved a kind of “remaking” of precolonial cultures in a by and large rural continent and “cities would act instrumentally on African bodies and social formations” (p.18). Simone further argues that this urbanization set the framework within which Africans began to relate with each other within cities, as well as how they interacted with the outside world. He states: “the present emphases on decentralization, local management, the exigencies of poverty alleviation, and regionally articulated local economic development are all in significant ways a reformulation of instruments used to evolve urban life according to the conditions that would ensure a very specific engagement with nonlocal worlds” (Simone 2001:19). Much of what constitutes as informal economies in most of the postcolonial cities in the South are a product of colonial economies and the constant migration of people to cities. Cities were seen a “places of refuge” (Simone 2004:20) to the multitude of people displaced from rural areas as a result of the colonial economy.

However, it is argued that the colonial structure remained fragmented and there were limits to the control it had over the urban environment. In Simone’s (2004:143) words, “throughout the colonial project, control was always tentative, constrained, and contested.” This fragmentary structure provided opportunities for ordinary urban residents to make claims on the cities. It is in this space of the “unintended city” that alternative practices were enacted by

identifying existing loop holes and underregulated spaces in a context of extreme scarcity of material resources and basic infrastructure. Therefore, as Simone argues the colonial city also provided the space for “a constant renegotiation of alternative spaces of livelihoods, relations and practices...a project of making something out of the city other than what was expected in capitalist production...allowing people to urbanize relationships derived from ruralized solidarity” (Simone 2001:20).³⁷

The Making of Bombay/Mumbai: Connections and Disconnections

A colonial port city

Bombay like some of the other big cities of India, such as Kolkata and Chennai, is a colonial city. However, unlike some of the other cities of the subcontinent such as Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Varanasi, Hyderabad, or Ahmedabad it has a relatively short history of *urban* settlement (Patel 2003, emphasis added).³⁸ Even though Thana, the region north of Bombay, is noted in some accounts of Marco Polo, the Portuguese who occupied several islands in the region after 1532 did not consider Bombay of much strategic importance, unlike Goa or Calicut (Kooiman 1985).³⁹

Precolonial trade—Despite Bombay’s relatively recent urban origins, Bombay’s growth as a port city during the British expansion in the nineteenth century has to be understood in a

³⁷ In the context of Bombay, Chandavarkar (1994) has highlighted how these rural solidarities helped the textile workers of Bombay in their struggle for survival in the city. He also points out that these links with their rural bases also allowed the workers to wage militant struggles in the city.

³⁸ Kolkata and Chennai are the new official names for Calcutta and Madras. The word Bombay was a corrupted Portuguese usage of the island’s indigenous name derived from Mumbadevi a patron goddess of the Kolis (the indigenous people of the region). Although Bombay has widely been understood as a “*colonial port city*,” some scholars are not comfortable using this category. Chandavarkar (2004) contends that “even though Bombay was in part a product of its imperial connection and owes it origin and early growth to the colonial settlement, its commercial and industrial development was shaped increasingly and in important ways by its place within the *internal economy*” (p.29, own italics). In this internal economy the commodity markets were linked to wider relations of production and exchange in the hinterland. The textile mills of Bombay depended increasingly on the penetration of the domestic market. Thus, the growth of Bombay does not owe solely to the colonial logic of development, but on the dialectics of global forces and regional/local processes, an argument made by several scholars with regard to other Indian cities (King 2004).

³⁹ The earliest archaeological evidence suggests that the region around Bombay had precolonial trade connections with Persia and Rome. It is also speculated that Ptolemaeus’s Heptanesia (Seven Islands) may have been identified as the seven islands of Bombay. However, this period preceding the European expansion was considered to be of minor importance in its growth (Kooiman 1985).

much earlier historical context of adaptation and expansion of maritime networks of trade and cultural exchange in the Indian Ocean region. Recently, scholars have argued that today's emerging "Asian connections" need to be understood in a much longer history going as far back as the thirteenth century precolonial maritime networks in the regions extending from the Red Sea to the South China sea (Duara 2010:965).⁴⁰ The later European colonial trade and power expanded and built upon these older precolonial networks of mobile merchant communities of Asia constituted by the Chinese, Indian, and (Baghdadi) Jews, involved in long-distance credit networks.⁴¹ Chaudhuri (1985) argues, "India" in the precolonial period provided a vital junction point to three different networks of trade and civilization: "the first linking its West coast to Arabia and Levant; the second its North-West to Central Asia and Iran; and the third it's South-East to South-East Asia."⁴² Washbrook (1997) argues that until the sixteenth century, Europeans played a marginal role in this Asian world dominated by the Ottomans, the Mughals, the Ming and the Ch'ing (p.426).

European expansion--From the sixteenth century, beginning with the voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1497-99 and the subsequent linking of the Asian maritime trade with the Atlantic by the Portuguese (and its later expansion by the British through trade in mass-consumed goods), the European powers began to dominate these precolonial trade networks through imperialism (Rennstich 2006). Duara (2010:964) argues that the British Empire in the nineteenth century "had the effect of intensifying some of the old relationships and generating new linkages between cities (and hinterlands) of Aden, Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Shanghai as entrepôts and financial centers for Asian trade" (Duara 2010:964).

⁴⁰ Sen (2010) extends these Asian precolonial networks even further back in history to the first century to trading networks consisting of both overland and maritime routes. According to Sen (2010) by the first century the major ports and urban centers of Asia were linked with each other (p.992).

⁴¹ For more on precolonial Asian networks refer to the seminal study on the subject by K. N. Chaudhuri (1990).

⁴² Cited in Washbrook (1997:426).

Bombay was one of the twenty-five islands along the Konkan coast of western India (da Cunha [1900] 2004). Six other islands were united together with the island of Bombay through land reclamations to form a larger entity called Bombay. Bombay was transferred by the Portuguese to the British in 1661 as part of a dowry of Princess Katherine.⁴³ Even by the late eighteenth century, Bombay was essentially a marine post with very few linkages with its hinterland. However, Bombay possessed several promising geographical advantages that led to its emergence as India's leading port city in the nineteenth century. It possessed a safe natural harbor that suited the maritime interests of the British East India Company (EIC) (Kooiman 1985). It was under the British Empire that Bombay emerged as an urban center.

As discussed earlier, King (1976:18) has argued that colonial urbanism has to be understood in terms of urban *development* as opposed to urban growth. This fact is especially relevant in the case of Bombay. Even though it possessed a natural geographical advantage as a port, Bombay's rise to prominence as a port city was not inevitable. Apart from harsh living conditions on the island itself, Bombay was also inaccessible to its hinterland as it was surrounded by the mountainous topography of the Western Ghats, preventing formation of land-routes. Thus Bombay's emergence as a port city has not only to do with its global linkages in the world economy, but also with its local linkages with its own hinterland. In this context, Kooiman (1985: 212) argues, that Bombay's history confirmed the general trend that port cities only grew after their surrounding countryside was commercialized. As a result of Bombay's inaccessibility, much of the trade along the western coast was restricted in the Gulf of Khambat, north of Bombay, in places such as Khambat, Bharuch, Daman, and Diu, and more importantly Surat, which was the major port along the western coast in the seventeenth and early eighteenth

⁴³ Even at the time of the transfer, Bombay was of minor importance and was considered "notoriously unhealthy" and thinly populated. It seems, Charles II was more "embarrassed than pleased by this part of the dowry" and therefore handed it to the East India Company at an annual rent of £ 10 in gold (Kooiman 1985).

century. Surat had been a major trading site of the Mughal Empire connected with the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and regions beyond Cape Comorin. In the seventeenth century, Surat possessed the largest merchant fleet in the Indian Ocean. Moreover, Surat was also an important connection point for pilgrims going to Mecca (Kooiman 1985:21). The Mughal Emperor allowed certain European companies to set up their own factories. The British EIC set up a factory in Surat in 1612 after obtaining a license from the Mughal Emperor and since then much of its trade in the seventeenth century was centered in Surat. The Dutch and the French Companies too followed later (Kosambi 1993:211-12).

However, toward the middle of the eighteenth century, Surat's importance as a port had declined and it was later replaced by Bombay as the leading port along the west coast. However, historians argue that Bombay's rise as a port city after Surat's decline was not a given, considering its inaccessibility with its hinterland. Thus, although the shift from Surat to Bombay occurred in 1687, it was not until the mid-eighteenth century that Bombay became commercially bigger than Surat (Kosambi 1993:212). Surat's decline and Bombay's subsequent rise have to be understood in the broader world-historical changes at that time.

Das Gupta (1979) argues that the decline of Surat was affected by the declining influence of three empires: the Mughal Empire in India, the Safavid Empire in Iran, and the Ottoman Empire in West Asia. This historical juncture acted as a key "blockage" (to use Rennstich's [2006] phrase) that led the decline of Surat and reconfiguration of the trading networks in the region. The weakening of the Saffavid and Ottoman empires disrupted Surat's trade with West Asia and the decline of the Mughal Empire affected Surat's long-distance trade with Agra, Lahore, and Banaras. Thus, as argued by Farooqui (2006:5), the decline was Surat was a "part of a general crisis in western Indian trade" leading to Surat's declining trade with Europe (Farooqui

2006:5). Along with these changes, there were also local strategic reasons for the British EIC to consider a move from Surat to an alternative coastal site along the western coast. The company was becoming weary of competition from rival European mercantile companies, moreover, it was also looking for a more secure location especially after its wars with the Dutch in the 1650s and in that context Bombay's inaccessibility proved to be a big advantage (Kosambi 1993:212).

It was only after 1784 that Bombay began to grow due to the export of cotton to China in return for Chinese tea. However, it was argued that the cotton exports could not keep up with the increasing import of Chinese tea. This difference had to be compensated with the opium trade within the triangular trade between India, Britain, and China since the eighteenth century. While the role of cotton is well discussed in relation to Bombay's transformation, the role of the opium trade for capital accumulation is fairly under-researched.⁴⁴

The opium trade and the emergence of the indigenous capitalist class—Opium was of immense importance for the Indian economy, the Indian Empire and, ultimately for the global economy of the nineteenth century. Because of its high profits margins, opium was one of the primary export products of colonial India until in the end of the nineteenth century. This trade was sustained by increasing consumption of Opium by China and other parts of the Southeast (Richards 2002). The importance of opium for the colonial economy can be gauged from the fact that from the early period of the EIC until the end of British Empire opium earned of the highest revenues along with revenues from land and salt monopoly (Richards 2002: 153). The incomes from opium steadily increased from about Rs 17.2 million per year in the 1830s, to Rs 50.3 million in the 1850s, and were at the highest at about Rs 93.5 million in the 1880s (Richards 2002:155).

⁴⁴ For more on the opium trade, see Farooqui (2006), Richards (2002), and Siddiqui (1982).

It is argued that it was the opium trade that led to the emergence of an indigenous capitalist class in India engaged in the opium enterprise around the port (Farooqui 2006). The opium trade not only linked Bombay to the world economy, especially China, but also to other regions along the west coast of India, including Rajasthan, Sind, and Malwa. The British government had a monopoly over the opium trade which was mainly concentrated in Bengal. Opium was grown in the eastern Gangetic plain, processed in Bihar and Bengal and auctioned and exported from Bengal. However, the control of the EIC in western India was relatively weak throughout the eighteenth century, partly due to the Maratha power in the region. This enabled the Indo-Portuguese traders to expand the trade of opium produced in western and central India. Through the patronage of local rulers these traders were able to thwart the monopolistic control of the British over the opium in the western and central India (Farooqui 2006). Thus, Farooqui (2006:18) argues that “modern Bombay has its genesis in the poppy fields in Bihar.”

Realizing its inability to control the illegal opium trade in the western and central regions, in 1846 the government allowed private and mainly Indian enterprise (mainly Marwari and Parsi merchants) in opium along with the Western coast.⁴⁵ Thus, along with the Gangetic opium, opium from Malwa in central India was directed to be shipped to the world market from Bombay. In the mid-nineteenth century, syndicates consisting of wealthy native merchants (especially the Parsis) operating in the Opium trade purchased Opium auctioned by the government and transported them through ships to Canton China (Siddiqui 1985; Richards 2002). These entrepreneurial communities later reinvested their profits from opium trade in the emerging textile industry in Bombay from the mid-nineteenth century.

⁴⁵ The Parsis in Bombay were one of the first Indians to develop trade networks with China during the colonial period, prominent among them were people like Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy. See Siddiqui (1982) and Farooqui (2006).

Cotton textiles—Earlier Bombay's economy was centered on export of cotton to China to settle EIC's unfavorable balance of trade with China. However, in the middle of nineteenth century the indigenous entrepreneurs started manufacturing cotton textiles in Bombay. This was aided by road and rail development projects between 1830 and 1860 that linked Bombay to its hinterland. The development of spinning and weaving mills led to the migration of mill workers, particularly from the coastal areas of Konkan in the south. The first textile mill was established in 1856 and by the end of 1875, Bombay had 27 mills and by 1900 this number grew to 82. By the end of the nineteenth century, Bombay had established itself as an important commercial center in India. "It handled about two-fifths of the total value of India's foreign trade, 70 percent of the value of the coastal trade and the bulk of the re-export trade to the Persian Gulf and to the Arab and East African ports" (Chandavarkar 1994:25). The growth of cotton mills also led to growth in various ancillary small-scale industries. Along with this Bombay also had emerged by the end of the nineteenth century as a major financial center in India (Kidambi 2007).

All this economic activity attracted a lot of people to the city and Bombay's population grew by leaps and bounds. The city's population more than doubled from 232,032 in 1833 to more than half of million in 1849. Bombay's population continued to increase in the latter part of the nineteenth century due to an increase in migration caused by the speculative boom triggered by the American Civil War in the early 1860s. In 1891, Bombay's population was about 800,000 out of which only a quarter were born in the city (Kidambi 2007:22). The interwar period is considered to be a crucial period in the growth of the city. It is argued that the loosening of the colonial tie during the interwar period led to increasing fortunes of the textile industry and the growth of its domestic market (Patel 2003). The textile industry became the largest employer in the city with its employment rising from 147,000 in 1921 to 136,000 in 1931 (Kooiman 1985).

As argued earlier (see foot note 29 on page 62), although Bombay's initial growth was due to its imperial connection, its commercial and industrial development was shaped in important ways through its internal economy wherein the commodity markets were linked to wider relations of production and exchange in the hinterland (Chandavarkar 1994:29). The textile mills of Bombay depended increasingly on the domestic market. The labor for these mills was recruited from the migrants from different regions. However, interestingly, these migrants maintained close ties with their villages and contributed to the rural economy through their remittances (ibid: 29). These continued links with their host villages played an important part in the sustenance of the workers in the city and in their labor struggles. Gradually, there emerged a unique working class culture and the area where mills existed came to be known as *Girangaon*, or the "village of mills." The workers who came to work in the textile mills were largely rural migrants who migrated from the hinterland of Maharashtra, mainly the Konkan region on the west coast (especially Ratnagiri) and the Deccan Ghat or plateau region in central India (mainly Pune, Satara, Sangli, Nashik). It is also argued that all those who migrated were essentially small land-owners and not landless rural poor. Thus migration and the possibility of earning quick money further strengthened their rural power base (Chandavarkar 1994). In order to sustain themselves in the city and to meet the material needs like employment, credit and housing they had to rely on societal networks based on ties of caste, region and kinship. Thus, it was essential for them to maintain their rural links. Therefore, the rural migrants did not assimilate in the city by completely losing their rural identity. As a result of this, these rural links led to the formation of working class institutions in the city such as *tamasha* (working class theater), *krida mandals* (sports clubs), *vyayam shalas* (gymnasiums), *gramastha mandals* (village organizations),

khanavalis (dining houses), *path pedis* (credit societies), that only catered to their cultural needs, also existential needs such housing, food, and finance .⁴⁶

Uneven urban development

Due to the specific colonial economic, military, strategic, and political considerations, the involvement of the colonial state in matters of Bombay's urban development was often artificial and uneven (Farooqui 2006). This unevenness has been most visible in the built environment of Bombay, ever since its emergence as an industrial city in the mid-nineteenth century. Reflecting the growing importance of Bombay as a port, the southernmost tip of the island facing the harbor—the Fort area—became the nucleus of European settlement in the city. Just north of the Fort separated by an esplanade was the native settlement. The Fort area itself was segregated with the native Indians concentrated in the northern sections and the European population concentrated in the south. The Europeans and the natives were not merely separated physically, but also socio-economically differentiated. The Fort symbolized the sphere of western capitalism where the main CBD was located, whereas the native quarter contained the indigenous bazaar economy reflecting caste-based residential patterns (Dossal 1991; Kidambi 2007). However, as the Fort area became overcrowded the colonial elite began to move to the south-western tip of the island which over a period of time became the upscale neighborhood of Malabar Hill which became an exclusive conclave of the Europeans. However, several wealthy Parsi families too settled in that area (Farooqui 2006).

⁴⁶ This aspect of working class culture assumes significant importance in the context of contemporary urban development in Mumbai. The redevelopment of the mill-district has met with strong resistance from the former mill workers who still reside in the tenements in the defunct mill premises. As discussed in chapter 6, the former mill workers struggle is not only for housing and livelihoods, but also to preserve this unique predominantly Marathi working class culture in the city.

It is found that colonial urban planning primarily benefitted an elite minority in the city. There were massive investments in grand architectural projects at the expense of critical issues such as housing, transportation, health, and public services, concerning the majority of the city residents (Hazareesingh 2001). Thus, “the economy of Bombay was reasonably affluent in the early twentieth century: only its people remained poor” (Hazareesingh 2001:255). The systematic anti-poor bias of the colonial officials was especially evident at the time of the bubonic plague that hit the city in 1896. Having very little knowledge about the etiology of the disease, the colonial plague policy was driven by class-biased assumptions about the disease related to sanitation and hygiene leading to draconian acts that regularized forced eviction and demolition of overcrowded tenements of poor people in the city. The plague also provided an opportunity for the colonial state to pursue larger urban renewal strategies in the early twentieth century under the City of Bombay Improvement Trust (BIT) formed in 1898. The task of the Trust was to create an “orderly city” and for this it was expected “not only to carry out urgent sanitary improvements, but also to enhance its image as a center of imperial and commercial power.” However, these technocratic visions of restructuring urban space could not achieve much success because of sustained local opposition involving diverse groups ranging from property owners to particular caste and religious groups and communities (Kidambi 2007:78-81). By 1909, the Trust had evicted over 50,000 people from their demolished one-room tenements, however, only 2,844 new “sanitary” tenements (Hazareesingh 2001:240).

The uneven development was also reflected in terms of access to basic services in the city. Despite the mid-nineteenth century population boom, there was no proportionate rise in the civic facilities provided by the colonial state. The city constantly grappled with “abysmal drainage and sewage disposal system, high morbidity and mortality rates, poor roads and

transport facilities, and insufficient and over-crowded housing” (Dossal 1991:30). Figure 6, gives an overall picture of contemporary urban inequality in Mumbai. It compares access to various services between the urban poor (using slum population as proxy) and the non-poor population.

Figure 6. Urban Inequality in Mumbai		
Criteria	Urban poor (slum population) (57 per cent)	Non-slum population (43 per cent)
Access to toilet	47 per cent have access 81 people per toilet seat 20 per cent defecate in the open	100 per cent
Access to piped water	18 per cent	92 per cent
Water Supply (standard is 135 lpcs)	90 liters per capita daily (lpcs)	200 lpcs
Health	10,147 people/bed in municipal hospitals (35 per cent of the urban poor use municipal hospitals)	487 people/bed in private hospitals
Water consumption (standard is 135 liters per person/day)	35-60 liters per person/day	300-400 liters per person/day ⁴⁷
Water costs	30 times more than the prescribed rate	The rich not only pay less for water but there is \$ 123 million worth of pending water bills of state authorities, builders, shopping malls, and hotels. ⁴⁸
Education	31 per cent likely to complete high school	47 per cent likely to complete high school

Source: Mumbai Human Development Report (2009).

⁴⁷ MCGM supplies 800,000 liters of water every day to beverage and bottling plants in the city.

⁴⁸ “Mumbait Thakit Paanibile 749 crores!” *Lokasatta*, December 14, 2009, p.2

Postcolonial Bombay/Mumbai

In the post-independence period after 1947, much of the profits from the textile industry were reinvested in capital intensive industries such as engineering, pharmaceuticals, petrochemicals, food processing, and fertilizers (Patel 2003). This growth also fuelled a radical working class movement in Bombay. From 1960s, Bombay experienced major industrial restructuring which deeply impacted the textile industry. There was a growth of new capital-intensive industries and this was visible in the form of greater productive capital than employment in the organized sector. From 1961 to 1981 the productive capital grew from Rs. 6 billion to Rs. 700 billion (van Wersch 1992:18). The decline of the textile industry was further hastened by the textile strike in 1982-83, at the end of which almost 100,000 workers were retrenched and a considerable amount of units were shut down. In 1976, 27 per cent of the city's organized workforce was employed in the textile industry, this figure dropped to 12.5 per cent by 1991.⁴⁹ Most workers who lost their jobs have joined the informal economy.

Industrial restructuring led to a growth in the small-scale power loom sector supported by the state. The spurt in the growth of capital intensive power looms resulted in a loss of market share of the labor intensive mills. While the overall production of cotton cloth (produced in the cotton mills) remained stagnant during 1970-1987, the production of blended cloth kept growing from the 1970s. Even during the strike, the production of synthetic, man-made fiber grew as it was produced in the decentralized power loom sector that remained unaffected by the strike (van Wersch 1992). Along with declining share of production, the technological backwardness of textile mills further aggravated the situation. The obsolescence of machinery used in spinning, weaving, and processing has been identified as one of the main causes of "sickness" in the industry. However, this technological backwardness is not new. The mill owners' refusal to

⁴⁹ Bakshi (1986), cited in Patel (2004:335).

modernize the mills facilitated their eventual closure. Thus, the textile strike proved to be a blessing-in-disguise for the mill owners as they could shut down the mills and reinvest the profits in more lucrative sectors of the new economy.

Some scholars argue that what happened in Bombay cannot be called deindustrialization, but spatial reorganization combined with an increasing expansion of the boundaries of the city (Patel 2003).⁵⁰ Due to this process of spatial reorganization, the central parts of the city ceased to be the dominant regions of manufacturing as production was dispersed to the suburbs and other satellite centers (outside Greater Mumbai, but within the Mumbai Metropolitan Region) such as Thane, Kalyan, and Navi Mumbai. Because of this, the central parts of the city (including the mill district in Mumbai) have now become the epicenter of the new economy in Mumbai based on service industries including finance, tourism, retailing, and entertainment.

By early 1990s, this shift in the Mumbai's economy toward jobs related to producer services becomes more visible as seen in the following quote from Harris (1995):

By 1994, Bombay accounted for 61 per cent jobs in India's oil sector, 41 per cent in domestic air traffic. Its airport handled 75 per cent of the country's imports and 64 per cent of exports. Employment in financial and business services had increased by 43 per cent between the 1970s and 1980s. Bombay collected 25 percent of India's income tax revenues and 60 per cent of custom revenues. Its banks controlled 12 percent of national deposits and a quarter of the country's outstanding credits. The number of issues listed on the Bombay's stock exchange grew from 203 in 1991-2 to 694 in 1993-4, and the amount of fresh capital in old and new companies increased from Rs 54 billion to 213 billion between these years.⁵¹

According to the Draft Regional Plan of the Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Development Authority (MMRDA) published in 1995, the employment in manufacturing industries in Greater

⁵⁰ In this context Patel (2003:11) argues that even though much of formal sector production shifted to informal and small-scale sector, older capital-intensive high-value production through subsidiaries of multinational companies continued due to a demand from domestic consumption in Mumbai. This was largely achieved due to large resources of skilled labor in the city.

⁵¹ Cited in Patel (2003:17).

Mumbai has declined from 36 per cent in 1980 to 28.5 per cent in 1990, whereas employment in trade, finance, and service-based industries increased from 52.1 per cent to 64.3 per cent during the same period (MMRDA 1985). The formal inauguration of the structural adjustment policy in 1991 (popularly referred to as liberalization) has further accelerated the process of urban restructuring in the city.⁵²

In the post-liberalization years, urban planning in Mumbai is self-consciously geared toward “managing city space” in order to render it a “global” or “world class” status and to convert the city into a significant financial and service center at the cost of industrial decline in several areas (Banerjee-Guha 2002). Informally, this is also referred to as the “Shanghaization” of Mumbai, alluding to Shanghai as the preferred model of development for Mumbai (Mahadevia and Narayan 2005). In chapter 4, I provide a detailed analysis of the genealogy of the Shanghaization discourse in Mumbai. However, it is important there is a need to have a comparative context to the discussion on Shanghaization to understand why the urban elite in Mumbai seek to emulate this model of urban growth and whether it is an effective model for Mumbai. Therefore, in the next chapter 3, I critically analyze the Shanghai model of development as it emerged in China.

⁵² Structural adjustment primarily implies changing importance and role of different elements and sectors of the economy in the process of development. It takes place either on the basis of the interplay of market forces of demand and supply, internally and internationally, or is brought about on the basis of conscious and deliberate policy measures adopted mainly on the macroeconomic front (Papola 1994). In the contemporary world economy, structural adjustment has acquired a narrower meaning. In the developing world, particularly since 1980s, structural adjustment is said to be engineered by international financial institutions as a solution to the economic crisis faced by the developing countries.

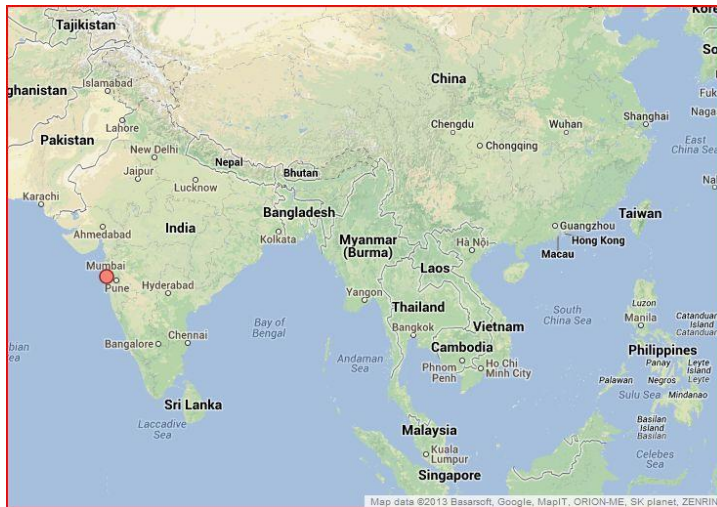


Figure 1. South and South East Asia

Source: Google Maps (2013)



Figure 2. Maharashtra State, India

Source: Google Maps (2013)

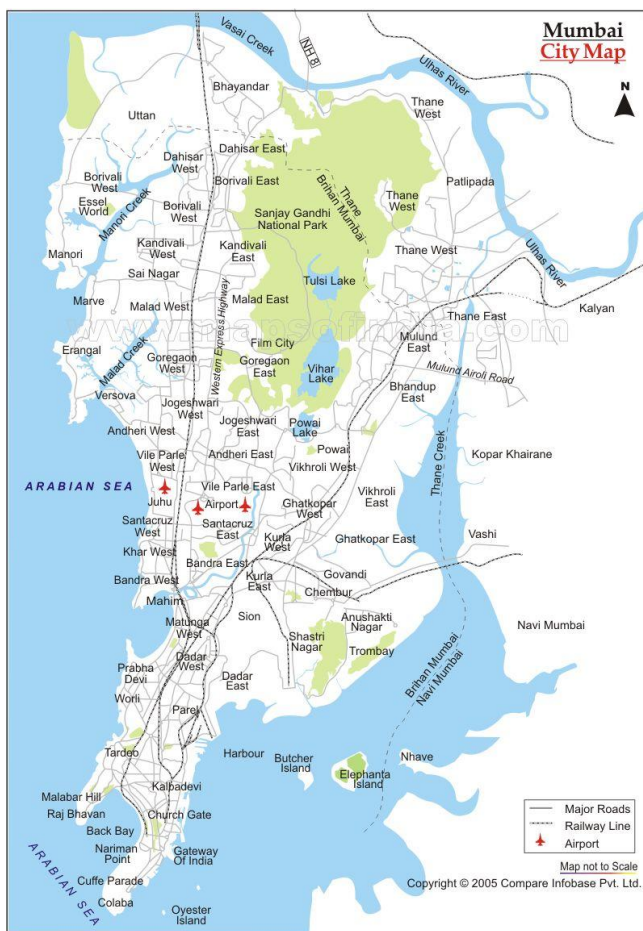


Figure 3. Map of Mumbai

Source: Compare Infobase Pvt. Ltd.

CHAPTER 3

THE SHANGHAI MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT

~Today, Asian cities are fertile sites, not for following an established pathway or master blueprint, but for a plethora of situated experiments that reinvent what urban norms can count as global (Ong 2011:2).

Worlding Cities

The dynamism of cities of the global South has led to a rethinking of the dominant theoretical accounts of cities and globalization.⁵³ There is strong emerging scholarship based on the experiences of cities of the South that have questioned many of the assumptions of western and structurally deterministic understanding of urban change (King 2000; Robinson 2002; Roy 2009b; Roy and Ong 2011; Shatkin 2007; Short and Kim 1999). Roy and Ong (2011) in particular go the farthest in their critique of existing “global generalizations” (both global capitalist and postcolonialist perspectives) that privilege singular and predetermined logics of global change. What is advocated, therefore, is a more “open-ended” analysis, where “worlding” of cities is understood as an emergent process, as “the art of being global,” in which global claims are understood to be always “in formation” with uncertain outcomes (Ong 2011:22-23).⁵⁴ In the process, certain global forms are recontextualized and adapted to specific contexts. Therefore, as a global form, the neoliberal is articulated as a situation-specific “art of being global” (Ong 2011:24). According to Roy (2011b), “worlding” in the global South can no longer be understood simply as “globalization imposed by the West on the rest.” The emerging models

⁵³ The wide-ranging issues covered include emerging urban modernity (Rao 2005); new contestatory politics (Chatterjee 2004; Sassen 2004); alternative urban theory (Marcuse and van Kempen 2000; Robinson 2002; Roy 2009b; Roy and Ong 2011; Shatkin 2007; Simone 2001).

⁵⁴ As against the dominant “global/world class city” approach, “worlding” of cities is understood not merely in terms of networks of finance and informational capital. It highlights other ways of “reaching out to the world” that happens either as a matter of day-to-day survival or through organized networks of social relations that are equally important in the world economy. For more on this see Roy (2009); Roy and Ong (2011), and Simone (2001).

of “homegrown neoliberalization” are based on new worlding practices such as *inter-referencing* involving “South-South coordinates and emergent South-based global referents” (Roy 2011b:10, emphasis added). Ong (2011:17) defines inter-referencing as “practices of citation, allusion, aspiration, comparison, and competition” vis-à-vis a “more successful city.” In the case of Mumbai, inter-referencing takes the form of “elite dreaming” where Asian cities such as Singapore and Shanghai are invoked as an aspiration, justifying a range of urban experiments related to real-estate development, clearing of slums, and suppressing local resistance (Ong 2011:17).

Mumbai’s Shanghai Dreams

In recent years, Shanghai has increasingly shaped the perceptions of how China is viewed within as well as outside the country. It is viewed as a symbol of a “rising China.” Nowhere in the world have people been so obsessed with Shanghai than in Mumbai, the business capital of India, where intellectuals, planners, as well as common residents are preoccupied with the question of transforming Mumbai into Shanghai. In this context, Huang (2008a) argues, “it would seem preposterous to even ask the question, “What is wrong with Shanghai?” Shanghai’s role in the economic growth in China is almost obvious, taken-for-granted, and uncontested. Scholars from Thomas Friedman to the World Bank economists are enamored by the “Shanghai model.” At a conference in 2007, the World Bank hailed Shanghai as the poster-child of its FDI-led globalization and based on the “Shanghai miracle” argued that urbanization was the only means to reduce poverty in the South (Huang 2008c). Outside China, in cities such as Mumbai, much of this Shanghai-fixation is based on, what Huang aptly refers to as, “numerical equivalents of tourist pictures of Shanghai” that include the Shanghai/Pudong skyline (Shanghai’s redeveloped financial district) and the city’s high-speed Maglev train (Huang 2008c). However, these

discourses of urban transformation in Mumbai and elsewhere take place without any detailed knowledge about the actual economic realities in Shanghai.

The focus of the recent national and urban policy in India has been to technically restructure Mumbai's city space in order to make it "world class" and to transform the city into an "international financial center" (Banerjee-Guha 2002). This is referred to as Shangaization in the local press, in reference to Shanghai as the preferred developmental model (Mahadevia and Narayan 2005). The Shanghai rhetoric was first articulated by the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Manmohan Singh, in October 2004 in a state election speech when he said:

When we talk of a resurgent Asia, people think of the great changes that have come about in Shanghai. I share this aspiration to transform Mumbai in the next five years in such a manner that people would forget about Shanghai and Mumbai will become a talking point...I have a dream that we can do it. I believe we can become number one through modernization, expansion, and development and make Mumbai the number one city in our country.⁵⁵

Mr. Singh reiterated the Shanghai rhetoric at yet another speech in 2006 at a conference co-hosted by the Wall Street Journal:

I am convinced that a historic opportunity for the revamping of Mumbai presents itself before us today. Mumbai can emerge as a new financial capital of Asia, and be the bridge between Asia and the West in the world of finance....I do believe that Mumbai can learn from Shanghai's experience in reinventing itself; in rebuilding itself; in rediscovering itself. I urge every Mumbaikar to transform this city from being a Gateway to India to becoming a Gateway to Asia!⁵⁶

Soon after the 2004 elections, the state government unveiled a 6.5 billion USD plan to transform Mumbai into a "world class city" like Shanghai. The central government too offered to invest around 2 billion USD over a period of five years in this effort. Some of the recommendations of

⁵⁵ Siddharth Srivastava, "Mumbai struggles to catch up with Shanghai," *Asia Times*, March 16, 2005. Retrieved March 9, 2011 (http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/GC16Df02.html).

⁵⁶ This is an excerpt from the key note address delivered by the Prime Minister on May 18, 2006 at the 16th Asian Corporate Conference in Mumbai titled, "Driving global business: India's new priorities, Asia's new realities." This conference was organized by the Asia Society along with *The Wall Street Journal* and The Confederation of Indian Industry (CII). Retrieved March 27, 2012 (<http://www.asiasociety.org/conference06/>).

the plan included key infrastructure projects, redevelopment of “encroached” land, and beautification of the international airport in the city.⁵⁷ Soon after this plan was announced, within two months, 90,000 homes of slum dwellers were demolished (Mahadevia and Narayan 2005). I will discuss these displacements in more detail in chapter 5.

Yasheng Huang (2008a) argues that the political elite in Shanghai viewed Shanghai as the symbol of a rising China reaching out to the world. Much in the same manner, the political elite in India too view Mumbai as an embodiment of India’s integration in the world economy as highlighted by the following quote from a speech of the Prime Minister at the launch of the Phase I of the Mumbai Metro Rail in 2006:

I have often said that Mumbai is not an ordinary city, its contribution to the creation of wealth in our country, the *symbol of hopes and aspirations of a resurgent India*... it is an embodiment of the spirit of India that *India is out to embrace globalization*... *Mumbai symbolizes India to the external world* (emphasis added).⁵⁸

It is clear from the above quotes that Mumbai’s transformation is intricately tied with sustaining the momentum of economic growth in India. Moreover, the “Shanghai Model” is not just a local urban imaginary, but (as we shall see in more detail in the next chapter) is slowly emerging as an urban, export-led *national* strategy of economic development in India. But before going into the specific discussion on the Shanghai model in China, I will first discuss what makes this association of Mumbai and Shanghai plausible by comparing these two cities. In this regard, Mumbai and Shanghai have some interesting points of convergences. Analyzing these convergences may shed further light on Shanghai’s developmental appeal for Mumbai.

⁵⁷ Siddharth Srivastava (ibid).

⁵⁸ PM lays foundation stone of phase-I of Mumbai Metro, June 21, 2006. Retrieved March 27, 2012 (<http://pmindia.nic.in/speech/content4print.asp?id=342>).

Parallels between Shanghai and Bombay/Mumbai

Port cities

The “Asian urban connection” stretches far back in history to the thirteenth century precolonial maritime trade routes extending from the Red Sea to the South China sea and constituted by mobile merchant communities of Asia constituted by the Chinese, Indian, and (Baghdadi) Jews involved in long-distance credit networks (Duara 2010: 965). Sen (2010) pushes the period of Asian precolonial networks even further back to the first century trading networks consisting of both overland and maritime routes. According to Sen (2010:992), it was by the first century that the major ports and urban centers of Asia were linked with each other.⁵⁹ The Europeans (particularly Britain) came to dominate the long-distance Asian sea trade world only in the seventeenth century. Before this, until the sixteenth century, the sea trade was dominated by the Ottomans, the Mughals, the Ming and the Ch’ing (Washbrook 1997:426). By the nineteenth century European powers substantially expanded and rebuilt the earlier precolonial trade networks.

British imperialism in the nineteenth century created new linkages between cities (and hinterlands) of Aden, Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Shanghai as entrepôts and financial centers for Asian trade. These linkages were deepened through the spice trade that linked the maritime trade of Asia with the Atlantic (Duara 2010:964). It was during this period that Shanghai and Bombay emerged as thriving port cities and later industrial centers. However, the foundations of these maritime trade networks were laid much earlier in the precolonial period Sung China and the Mughal period.

Both Shanghai and Bombay historically were fishing hamlets which evolved as premier port cities in the mid nineteenth century. As port cities, they served the function of “gateway

⁵⁹ For more on precolonial Asian networks refer to the seminal study on the subject by K. N. Chaudhuri (1990).

cities” in the context of the colonial trade and both have remained, for most part, their respective country’s preeminent cities. The initial impetus of growth in both the cities had occurred primarily due to British-led colonialism, or quasi-colonial “treaty-port system” in the case of Shanghai (Wasserstrom 2003:56). At the end of the First Opium War, Shanghai was one of the five treaty ports established by the British under the Treaty of Nanjing in 1843. A section of the city was opened to British trade and settlement. What initially began as a British settlement came to be occupied over a period of time by the Americans and the French through what was referred to as “concessions” or exclaves, each having its own set of extraterritorial laws (Abbas 2000). Gradually, within the area of international settlement there emerged what Abbas (2000) calls “cosmopolitanism of extraterritoriality,” which was most manifest in the built space of the city with its “Tudor-style villas, Spanish-style townhouses, Russian-style churches, and German-style mansions, along with the internationalism of the buildings on the Bund” (p.774). The “Bund,” a water-front area within the international settlement in the north of the walled city, became a financial hub of East Asia at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. Until 1940s, it housed most of the financial institutions in China.⁶⁰ These developments, however, led to extreme inequalities in the city, especially between the Western “Shanghaianders” and the “native residents,” the local Chinese people. Until 1930s, the “Shanghaianders” viewed the international settlement as an “free floating republic” where only foreigners were viewed as citizens with rights, while the “native residents” were considered as “guests” (Wasserstrom 2003:55; 2009). In this regard, Abbas (2000) argues that Shanghai was a “nonviable city,” linked to the rest of the world, but delinked from the rest of China (p.776).

⁶⁰ The word “Bund,” refers to a levee or a dam and is said to have derived from a Hindi/Urdu word “Bandh,” having Persian roots.

As discussed in the earlier chapter, Bombay's initial development too came about due to the British imperial interests in the colonial division of labor. Bombay replaced Calcutta as the main commercial node for the British in the mid-eighteenth century due its geographic proximity to Europe and its excellent natural harbor. Due to a shortage of cotton caused by the American Civil War and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Bombay expanded economically. The first textile mill was established in 1856 and by the end of 1875, Bombay had 27 mills and by 1900 this number grew to 82. By the end of the nineteenth century, Bombay had established itself as an important commercial center in India. It was during this initial period of expansion that much of the wide-scale urban development projects were introduced in the city (Dossal 1991). Just like Shanghai, British imperial metropolitanism manifested itself in the built-form of the city as seen in its numerous Victorian buildings, churches, theatres, and cricket clubs. Like Shanghai, Bombay too was a "dual city" that displayed simultaneously extreme wealth and poverty (Pacione 2006).

The victory of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1949 ended Shanghai's "bridgehead" function that characterized it since the mid-nineteenth century. From then on with more centralized command over local government, Shanghai was viewed as a "locomotive" for state-led industrialization. The role of the city changed from being a center of trade, finance, and distribution of foreign products to an industrial city (Wu 2003). Shanghai's "grotesque cosmopolitanism" nurtured by its reputation as being the most "open" city in the world, free from the bureaucratic state, did not fit well with the Communist agenda of nation-building. Therefore, there was a conscious effort made to erase Shanghai's urban memory (Abbas 2000:775-76). Further, under the leadership of Mao Zedong, cities ceased to be viewed as exclusive sites of modernity. The cosmopolitan culture embodied by Shanghai was regarded

by the new leaders as being “bourgeois and decadent” (Abbas 2000:776). Driven by the new ideological zeal of nation-building, Shanghai lost its claim as China’s preeminent city as a result of neglect and underinvestment in the city. This led to a capital flight from Shanghai with most of the financial investors and institutions in Shanghai moving to the British colony of Hong Kong, fueling Hong Kong’s industrial development from the 1950s onwards.

Mumbai’s too has moved in a similar historical trajectory of the colonial, the national, and the global phases (Chakravorty 2000; Grant and Nijman 2002; Nijman 2007). The national phase of Mumbai that lasted from independence in 1947 until 1980s was characterized by a relative insulation of Mumbai from the global economy and a weakening of foreign presence in the city (Nijman 2007). However, the post-colonial context of Mumbai’s development did not affect its preeminent status as adversely as it did for Shanghai. Mumbai continued to remain the financial capital of the country and the most globally connected cities in India. However, in more recent times it has had to compete with cities such as Bangalore and Hyderabad for investments in the emerging sectors of the economy led by information technology.

Immigrant cities

Both Shanghai and Bombay/Mumbai are also immigrant cities whose growth as industrial centers has attracted considerable international (particularly in Shanghai) and regional migration. What is interesting to note is that in both these cities immigrant merchant families played a very important role in their initial development. In the case of Shanghai, merchant families from nearby Ningbo (in Zhenjiang province) became an integral part of the coastal trading system and later commercial activity in Shanghai. Having the advantage of being the first treaty port in 1849, Shanghai surpassed Guangzhou (Canton) as China’s premier trading city by 1853 (Wu and Yusuf 2004:27-28). The industrial development from mid- to late-nineteenth century attracted a

lot of foreign presence in Shanghai. During its “golden days” in the 1920s, Shanghai attracted a lot of migrants from other parts of Shanghai (Wu 2007:115). Rapid growth in the 1980s further attracted more migrants to the city to meet the increasing labor demands facilitated by a relaxation of migration policies. It is estimated that there are around 3 million temporary migrants working in Shanghai who (given their temporary status) have little access to education, housing, and other basic services in the city (Wu 2007:126). Similarly, Bombay’s initial growth through the opium trade and later textile industry was led by merchant communities who migrated from Surat, the earlier premier port city of Western India. Further, the development of spinning and weaving mills led to the migration of mill workers, particularly from the coastal areas of Konkan in the south of Bombay. In 1891 Bombay’s population was about 800,000 out of which only a quarter were born in the city (Kidambi 2007:22). Following Independence and the partition of India and Pakistan, Bombay’s population grew rapidly between 1941 and 1951, especially in the suburbs (Pacione 2006: 231). With over half of the population being of non-Maharashtrian ethnicity, Mumbai has emerged as India’s most cosmopolitan city represented by immigrants from western, northern, as well as southern parts of India.

Financial centers

Both Shanghai and Bombay/Mumbai have emerged as key financial centers in their respective countries due to historical and geographical factors. In the twenty-first century Shanghai is competing with Hong Kong and Beijing as the preeminent Chinese city in terms of finance and industry. Compared to both the cities, Shanghai is more favorably disposed in terms of overall lower living and business expenses as well a great location with potential to emerge as a regional financial center due to the recent reorientation of the Chinese economy. Shanghai is situated in the Yangzte River Basin and along with Hangzhou and Wuxi forms one of the most important

urban regions in China. The Yangtze Basin is predicted to grow economically due to rural industrialization and rapid development of transport and communication infrastructure in the region (Wu and Yusuf 2004). Since 1990, Shanghai has received considerable federal investments and under Deng Xiaoping's leadership the Pudong New Area district emerged at the new financial district of Shanghai. Between 1990 and 2000, 22 billion USD were invested in the development of Pudong and by 1999 it accounted for one-fifth of the metropolitan GDP of Shanghai (Wu and Yusuf 2004:33-34). Moreover, with the introduction of the Pudong international airport in 1999, Shanghai has also emerged as a regional passenger hub. Further, in 2010 Shanghai became the busiest container port the world after it overtook Singapore. In 2010, the Shanghai port handled close to 30 million TEUs (20-foot equivalent units), more than that of Singapore's 23.56 million TEUs.⁶¹

Mumbai too has made significant strides toward becoming an important financial center in the region and is already the financial capital of India. Located in the city are two stock exchanges—the National Stock Exchange (NSE) and the Bombay Stock Exchange (BSE), head offices of the two financial regulating agencies—the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) and the Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI), head offices of several banks (foreign and national), and two major ports. Mumbai contributes one-third of the total direct taxes collected in India, 40 per cent of the national fiscal receipts, one in every three checks issued in the country are cleared in Mumbai, the Jawaharlal Nehru Port in Mumbai handles 58 per cent of the country's container traffic, and the per capita income of Mumbai is 39 per cent higher than the

⁶¹ "Shanghai Port is World's Busiest." *The Economic Times*, December 24, 2011. Retrieved May 6, 2012 (http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2011-12-24/news/30554773_1_container-traffic-teus-port-operator).

national average.⁶² The city also has the largest international airport and is thus an important transport junction point in India. Along with this, Mumbai is also an important center for entertainment and tourism. Mumbai is home to Bollywood, one of the world's largest film industry (with an average of 140 film releases a year) which further contributes to the growth of other service industries such as the travel, tourism, and hotel trade (Patel 2004). With recent deindustrialization and growth in services, the city is projected to emerge as an important financial center for Asia and the world. However, unlike Shanghai, the external sector plays a relatively small role in Mumbai's economy (Harris 1995; Grant and Nijman 2002). However, the liberalization of the Indian economy in the 1990s has expanded financial activity in the region through the deregulation of real estate market. The creation of the new commercial center at Bandra-Kurla in the northern suburbs of the city has also provided an alternative location to the heavily congested CBD in the South. However, despite emerging as their countries' premier financial centers by creating the physical infrastructure and having offices of international financial institutions, it is argued that Shanghai's and Mumbai's claims to become regional and global financial centers would need to be backed by deeper reforms in their financial markets, which have been rather slow (Harris 1995; Wu and Yusuf 2004).

Understanding the Shanghai Model of Development

Fast growth

From 1990-2000, Shanghai experienced a phenomenal increase in its GDP growth rate, the largest in the region. As a result of this some even consider it as a "new Chinese miracle" (Zhang 2006). Shanghai's growth during 1990-2002 was higher than the national average. During 1990-2002, Shanghai's growth rate increased by 479%, whereas that of China's increased by 346%

⁶² These figures are quoted in Malini Bhupta, "Old player in a new economy," *India Today*, August 14, 2006. Retrieved May 5, 2012 (<http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/mumbai-reaching-its-limits-needs-to-remodel-itself-kamal-nath/1/180756.html>).

(Segbers 2007:16). Further, Shanghai's per capita GDP was five times higher than the national average (Zhang 2006). The GDP growth rate of Shanghai increased from 4 per cent in 1990 to around 11 per cent in 2002. The biggest leap in the growth rate was observed during the year 1991-1992, where it doubled from almost 7 percent to almost 15 per cent, an increase of 8 percentage points in a single year. Ever since, it has either remained steady or declined marginally (Zuo and Huang 2005).

This rapid economic growth in Shanghai was also marked by drastic economic restructuring in Shanghai in order to reconnect it to the global economy. There was a shift from labor to capital intensive manufacturing and a shift from manufacturing to finance (Zuo and Huang 2005). Much of Shanghai's recent GDP growth is attributed to the growing importance of Shanghai as the gateway of service-based industry. The service sector output in Shanghai grew ten-fold from 1990-2001 from 2.94 billion USD to 30.61 billion USD. In terms of GDP, its output increased from one-third to just over half in 2002. Within the service sector, real estate was the fastest growing segment. The share of the real estate industry within the tertiary sectors increased from 1.6 per cent in 1990 to 13.6 per cent in 2002. It is argued that this was by and large a result of the shift from free servicing to pricing and development of the real estate market (Zuo and Huang 2005:80-81).

There is no doubt that at the aggregate level Shanghai has made rapid progress on the economic front. However, this rapid growth also raises a lot of questions: First, how do we explain Shanghai's rapid economic in the context of a wider discussion of China's economic ascendancy? Is this growth neoliberal or as Harvey (2005) explains, "neoliberalism 'with Chinese characteristics'" or is the emerging picture much more complex for such neat definitions? Moreover, in the context of Mumbai, is Shanghai a good developmental model?

The “Shanghai miracle”: neoliberalism or political maneuvering?

David Harvey in his highly influential book *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005), argues that the Chinese economic reforms introduced by Deng Xiaoping in 1978 represents an attempt (like the Chilean experiment) to construct a particular kind of market economy fusing neoliberal elements with authoritarian centralized control. He further equates reforms in China with authoritarian neoliberal tendencies of the neoconservatives in the US and the UK. Diverging from Harvey’s views, Giovanni Arrighi (2007) argues that the main basis for the Chinese growth was not neoliberal reforms, but the investments made in health, education, and a “capacity of self management” that emerged due to the welfare policies of late-imperial Qing China in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Therefore, unlike self-regulating neoliberal markets, the “invisible hand of the state” symbolized decentralized governance with minimal bureaucratic interference by the state.⁶³ However, both these radically different accounts of China’s economic success are premised on a particular understanding of the state. Alternatively, Ong (2007) proposes the “neoliberalism as exception” thesis in the context of East Asian development which steers away from the state-based understanding of neoliberalization. She calls for a more situated analysis of neoliberal *technologies* as political exceptions that enable certain sovereign practices and subjectifying techniques that deviate from the established norms (Ong 2007:12). Therefore, as a political *rationality*, neoliberalism is not limited to advanced liberal democracies. Neoliberalism as exception can be deployed in various political settings: postcolonial, authoritarianism, or postsocialist (ibid: 14). Ong (2007) further argues that in a “postdevelopmental” context, the neoliberal states are no longer merely administrators of watertight national entities, but become regulators of diverse fragmented national spaces and populations connected or disconnected from global circuits of capital through various “zoning

⁶³ For a more detailed discussion on this see Chu (2011).

technologies.” In the context of China, this is evident in the creation of special economic zones (SEZs) characterized by differential regulating practices.

In the context of late industrializers in East Asia, unlike advanced liberal democracies, it were the relatively autonomous “Developmental States” that engaged in industrialization and rapid economic growth and at the same time tried to improve the material and social well-being of its citizens (Hill and Kim 2000; Leftwich 2002). The model followed by postsocialist China is closer to the East Asian model where reglobalizing strategies in Shanghai are seen as an opportunity to transform the role of the state and to legitimize its presence in the economic sphere (Wu 2003). In this context, Wu (2007) states, “[t]he spatiality of the globalizing city becomes an important medium and vehicle to achieve the aspiration of the state” in the context of a new postsocialist power structure and a rescaled state. Thus, in a rather peculiar sense the whole urban entrepreneurial endeavor in China is organized into a state project. Within this, it has become important for the Chinese state to coordinate the roles of Shanghai, Beijing and Hong Kong. Moreover, it is argued that as the state retreats from overwhelming economic command in the postsocialist context, it is very unlikely that the “market” is going to take a more dominant role of coordination (Shi and Hamnett 2002).

Huang (2008a) has argued that the very essence of the ‘Shanghai miracle’ is completely political, rather than economic. It was politically constructed in the context of a changing political structure in China driven by local political forces centered in Shanghai. Two recent incidents illustrate the important role of national and local politics in the context of China’s contemporary transformation. In 2006, Chinese President Hu Jintao suspended Shanghai’s Mayor Chen Liangyu from the Communist Party’s Central Committee and its Politburo under charges of corruption, criminal involvement, nepotism, and legal violation. One of Liangyu’s

colleagues was also accused of misappropriation of 400 million USD worth of city's pension funds. This extra-ordinary action by the President assumes great significance in the context of the changing political structure in China. Liangyu's dismissal came at a time when the National Congress of the Communist Party of China's (CPC) was having its plenary meeting to vote on the reshuffling of the Politburo, the most important decision making body in China. Also on the table was the macro-economic agenda to slow down the over-heated growth in infrastructure and property sector. Both these proposals met with resistance from members of the "Shanghai clique" which emerged as dominant power brokers in Chinese politics since the 1980s under the earlier President Jiang Zemin, who served as the Mayor of Shanghai in the 1980s.⁶⁴ Therefore, the indictment against Liangyu was perceived as a show of strength by Mr. Hu Jintao not merely to the provincial and lower level leaders who defied central government's efforts, but more specifically it was aimed against the "Shanghai clique."⁶⁵

In another recent incident in April 2012, the Chongqing Communist Party secretary Bo Xilai was suspended from Politburo's membership as well as the central committee of CPC under allegations of illegal business operations. Apparently, the central leadership was not comfortable with Chongqing party's proclivity to the "cultural revolution."

At a broader level, both the above incidents indicate an ongoing political and ideological struggle over the future path of development in China. The sacking of Liangyu highlights a clash between two differing ideologies of economic growth in China: on the one hand, the real-estate led Shanghai model of growth which was viewed by the new leadership as being wasteful and

⁶⁴ Some prominent members among them include former President Jiang Zemin, former Premier Zhu Rongji, and the current Vice-President Xi Jinping. Generally more right-leaning, the "Shanghai Clique" is critical of the extreme left and is more opposed to the reformist policies of the current Chinese administration of President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao.

⁶⁵ "Shanghaied: Hu Jintao sticks out his elbows and fires Shanghai's party chief." *The Economist*, September 2006. Retrieved April 25, 2012 (<http://www.economist.com/node/797102>).

speculative and on the other hand, an emerging ideology of growth that emphasizes social and financial stability. In terms of the other incident, scholars have explained the sacking of Xilai as a fall out of the struggle between the Chongqing model of growth and the mainstream model. The Chongqing model has emerged as a radical critique of the current mainstream “neoliberal” developmental model and privileges state-owned enterprises, affordable housing for the poor, and support for small businesses in the region (Xu 2012). From the above two incidents it is clear that the current central leadership in China has to engage with diverse competing factions and ideologies, especially the members of the “Shanghai Clique”. Therefore, any attempt to understand the Shanghai model of development has to take into account the complexities of China’s political power structure.

Shanghai and the political power structure in China

Although it is assumed that the political system in China is rigidly hierarchical and authoritative, in reality the political power in China is found to be much more diffused, complex, and often competitive, leading to a fragmented political process and blurring of authority (Martin 2010:1). Largely, political power in China is concentrated in its three main political institutions: the Party (the CCP), the state government (consisting of ministries and provincial, municipal, and country governments), and the People’s Liberation Army. Along with these institutions, there are also other political actors that influence government policies such as the provincial and local officials, official and semi-official policy research groups and think tanks, and state and private business interest groups (Martin 2010). Although most political power rests with the central government, the constitution does grant local government some degree of autonomy to preside over the administration functions related to the economy, education, science, culture, public health, and urban and rural development. The relationship between the central government and the

provincial, municipal, and local governments is differentiated. The provincial leaders are appointed by the central government and generally care is taken to make sure that they are not from the same region to avoid entrenched corruption. However, the country and municipal leaders are from the same region and often the ministries have less control over them. As a result of this, there is often a problem disciplining local leaders and corruption is generally high among officials at the country and municipal levels.

Historically, under the socialist regime, the political power structure in China was more centralized and was characterized by a vertical hierarchy that formed the basis of a command economy. The key actors within this set up were the central government, its agencies, and various “state work units” where most of the resources and planning was concentrated. The CCP was integrated within the government and the state units. However, in the postsocialist period characterized by wide-spread market-oriented reforms during 1990-2000, there was a reconfiguration of the central and local power relations with local states gaining more autonomy through fiscal and political decentralization (Wu 2007). Further, there was a decentralization of decision-making related to local financing, land use, and developmental policy (Zhang 2006).

Further, post-Tiananmen Square, the new central leadership was more favorably disposed to Shanghai as most of the influential central leaders had earlier served as key officials in the city and had entrenched economic and political interests associated with the city. For example, both President Jiang Zemin (Communist Party secretary and President from 1989-2003) and Premier Zhu Rongji (1991-2003) had earlier served as mayors of Shanghai in the 1980s (Zhang 2006:42).

However, with Jiang Zemin’s resignation as the Chairman of the Central Military Commission in September 2004 (his last official post), the current President Hu Jintao has assumed control over all the three political institutions in China: the party, the state, and the

military and has therefore emerged as the most powerful leader. In opposition to the Shanghai model of development, the new leadership that took over in 2002 has embarked on a new ideological campaign that focuses on building a “harmonious society” based on balanced development. The new approach — “scientific development” (*kexue fazhanguan*) or “comprehensive, coordinated, and sustainable development” — outlined by President Hu Jintao in 2003, seeks to correct the earlier overemphasis on GDP-focused economic growth that neglected social welfare. The new official rhetoric has now shifted from “economic growth” to “social harmony” incorporating sustainable development and social welfare (Fewsmith 2004:1). Following this, Prime Minister Wen Jiabao also announced measures to improve the situation of workers and peasants which included reemployment of laid-off workers, improving industrial safety, abolishing agricultural tax for farmers, educational subsidies for poor rural children and payment of unpaid wages of rural migrant workers.

In order to build a consensus, the new approach seems to carefully balance earlier socialist and postsocialist ideologies. On the one hand, it tries to weed out local corruption and entrenched political interests through a set of regulations aimed at institutional reform that encourages voting and meritorious and competitive selection, rather than selection based on seniority and nepotism. On the other hand, in stressing this fact it uses a language is inherently neoliberal. For example, during one of the conferences on “human resources” organized jointly by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, a decision was made to rename recruitment terminology from “party administering cadres” to “party administering qualified personnel.” Party cadres are now viewed as “creators of value” and “outstanding management personnel and professional and technical workers.” Apparently, these changes were also driven by the pressures of a market-driven, globalized economy wherein private and international firms

are more interested in hiring employees regardless of the traditional cadre-management practices. However, despite the rhetoric, the fact that the party is still in charge of selecting skilled personnel and indicates the dominance of the Party and its traditional planning mentality (Fewsmith 2004:4).

Despite such careful maneuvering, there is still no consensus over the new approach as highlighted by the recent split in the PSC between two factions: the “populists” and the “elitist.” The populist group favors more balanced economic development on the principles of a “harmonious society,” while the “elitist” group favors continued rapid economic development, catering to capitalist and middle-class interests (Martin 2010:5).⁶⁶ This bears testimony to the entrenched nature of this ideology of growth in China. However, there is still a lot of distance between the official rhetoric and reality as seen in the rise in “unofficial transcripts” of various informal human rights movement, workers’ unrest, and peasants’ discontent (Mittleman 2006).

Evolution of the Shanghai model

The multiscalar contexts. The emergence of Shanghai model in China has to be understood in terms of its specific historical juncture by highlighting the particular global, national, regional, and local contexts within which Shanghai emerged a preeminent engine of economic growth for China. The end of the Cold War gave rise to new technologies that enabled increasing capital flows and a new international division of labor giving rise to a new round of global competition. In this new phase of economic globalization, the newly industrialized countries (NICs) such as South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore advanced on the basis of their export-oriented development, leading to the “Asian Miracle.” Following the model of the “Asian Tigers,” China gradually began to adopt economic reforms and an open door

⁶⁶ Within the CCP, the Politburo and the Politburo Standing Committee (PSC) consist of a two dozen or more of the most senior officials. However, it is the PSC—a smaller group of political elite—where most of the political power rests.

policy in 1979. In adopting an export-oriented development strategy, China began to concentrate on its coastal regions. Thus, by 1990, due to its strategic location in the Yangtze River Delta and historically being the largest financial region in East Asia, Shanghai was chosen as the “dragon-head” that would link China’s economy with the rest of the world (Wu 2003:1683-84). Driven by the imperatives of economic globalization, China needed a “global city” that could link China’s growing export-oriented economy with international trade. Therefore, Shanghai began to receive strong support from the central state and there was a conscious effort made to “reglobalize” Shanghai to reclaim some of its lost international status.

At the national level, since late 1970s, there was a sea-change in the development philosophy and economic landscape in China. The post-Mao leadership gave importance on economic reform and open-door policy. This change was reflected in 1984 with the 12th National Party Congress launching the policy of urban industrial development. The reforms also brought about two significant changes in China that are important in the context of Shanghai: decentralization of governance from national to local level and the increasing important of nonstate actors such as private and foreign investors (Wu 2003).

At the regional level, *tidu lilun* or the “ladder step” policy was adopted by China, which prioritized the development of the eastern coast and then subsequently the interior parts of China. There were three economic belts marked out on the basis of perceived comparative advantages of each region. The eastern region was to specialize in export-oriented industries and foreign trade, the central region on agriculture and energy sector, and the western region was to focus on animal husbandry and mineral extraction (Fan 1995). The export-oriented eastern zone enjoyed several concessions from the central government in terms of preferential tax treatment, improved urban infrastructure and easy access to international markets, and professional government

services (Wei and Lueng 2005). Subsequently, much of China's economic growth since the 1980s is said to have been led by the three major regions along the eastern coast, which are considered as the “growth engines” of China (see Figure 4): the Pearl River Delta region (PRDR), led by Hong Kong/Guangzhou; the Yangtze River Delta Region (YRDR), centered in Shanghai; and the Beijing-Tianjin-Tangshan region, also known as the BTTR or the Jing-Jin-Tang region (JJTR) (Zhang 2006).

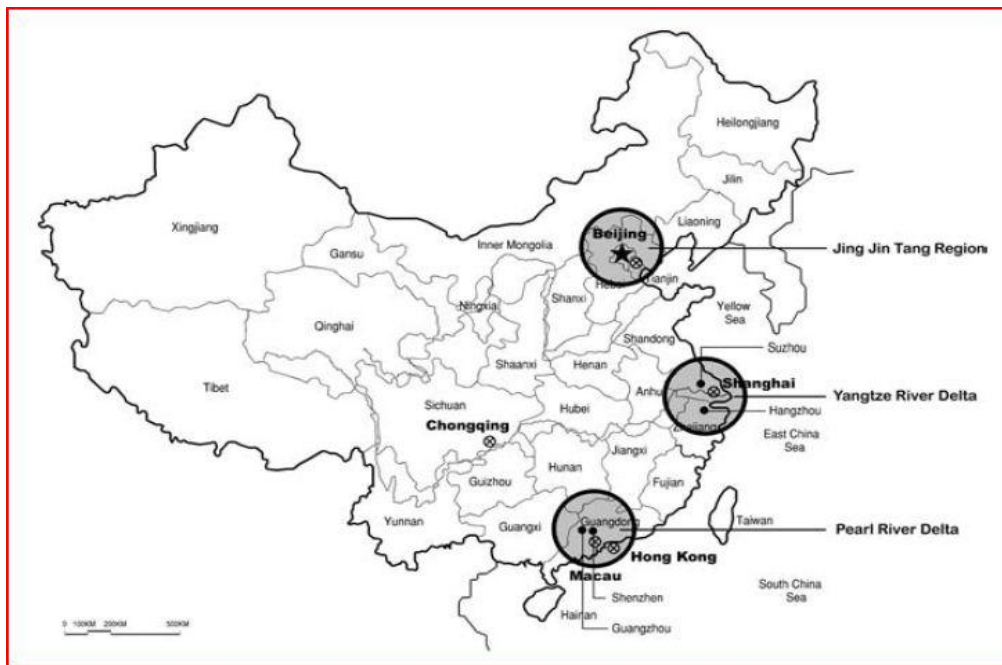


Figure 4. China's Three “Growth Engines”

Source: Zhang (2006:30)

Out of these three regions, the YRDR was considered as the most important area. The YRDR, especially Shanghai, has been the focus of much research since the 1990s, especially because of its key role in articulating the high-growth led development in China. Hall (2002) contends that the region as a whole constitutes a paradigm (“the Yangtze paradigm”) of economic growth and spatial expansion.⁶⁷ The region has also been the focus of understanding China's urban transition (Friedmann 2005) through the influence of foreign direct investment,

⁶⁷ Cited in Zhang (2006).

inviting terms such as “exourbanization” (Sit and Yang 1997, cited in Zhang 2006). The dominance of these three regions within the Chinese economy can be gauged from the fact that although the three regions altogether constituted only 1.61 per cent of China’s territory and 10.08 per cent of China’s population, in 2002 they contributed to 33 per cent of China’s total GDP, 75 per cent of its foreign trade, and 72 per cent of its total exports and attracted 80 per cent of FDI in China. Among the three the YRDR is the largest, as well as the strongest in terms of GDP and FDI (Zhang 2006:28).

Implementing the model. Shanghai’s rapid development took place because of the favorable role played by leaders such as Jiang Zemin and Zhu Rhongzi, who dominated the Chinese political landscape throughout the 1990s. The transformation of Shanghai was already conceptualized when Jiang Zemin was the mayor of Shanghai. It was Zemin who introduced a top-down model of development. In 1986, “A comprehensive development program for Shanghai” was drafted by the municipal government to transform Shanghai into a world class city in a relatively short time. This new program outlined two key mechanisms to “leap frog” Shanghai’s development: first, the internationalization of the economy and second, eliminating all “backward” and “messy market places” of “unorganized, unlicensed, and unsightly” informal activities, carried out mainly by rural migrants and peasants. In order to implement this, an independent super municipal agency was created headed by the Mayor. For rapid implementation of the development program, all urban planning decisions were centralized in this agency (Huang 2008c:213-14).

Broadly, this new development program implemented in Shanghai marked a shift in the regional development approach from the traditional “two-track” approach to a “single-track” approach. The earlier “two-track” approach was based on a differential nature of development of

the rural and urban areas. While, market reforms and private sector development was introduced in the rural areas, there was a continued emphasis of centralized planning in the urban areas. The new “single-track” approach based on “rural-urban planning integration” made the rural areas more dependent on the urban areas as it is the urban areas where economic growth began to get concentrated driven by massive investments in cities, primarily Shanghai. During 1991-2002, 217 billion USD were invested in Shanghai in order to correct the long-term underinvestment in the city during the Communist planning era. As a result of this political benevolence, Shanghai was able to register rapid GDP growth and boom in construction during this time. These investments in the city consisted of a mix of domestic and foreign sources. Domestic sources included household bank deposits (60 billion USD in 2002) and land user fees. There was also a significant amount of foreign investments in the city during 1991-2000, amounting to 28 per cent of the total investments in Shanghai (Zuo and Huang 2005:74-75). Since 1992, Shanghai attracted over 120 billion USD in total foreign direct investment (FDI) and accounted for 23 percent of China’s total FDI in 2006. More than 50 per cent of the FDI was in manufacturing and nearly 30 per cent in the real estate (Zuo and Huang 2005: 75-77). In 2004, the annual FDI in Shanghai was 6.5 billion USD, equal to India’s entire FDI! (Huang 2008c).

Based on the 1986 policy, highly expensive projects were carried out to promote the city as an “ultra-modern metropolis.” This is reflected in the development of the Pudong New District which involved the conversion of almost 350 sq km of farmland into a financial and commercial center in a very short period of time. The Pudong project was primarily a real-estate led model whereby the government acquired farm lands at very low costs from farmers and auctioned the land-use rights at current market prices. The money generated from these sales was to be reinvested in various industrial, welfare, and pension programs. However, the lucrative

real-estate developments accompanied by preferential politics led to growing corruption and crony capitalism. Since July 2006, 8 senior officials in charge of land management have been arrested in Shanghai.

The real-estate development projects such as Pudong highlight the high-handed approach of the central government, seemingly seen as an efficient means of “getting things done.” However, this emphasis on “efficiency” had severe consequences on the urban poor in the city as the repressive state carried out its “developmental” agenda in a non-democratic manner. Massive urban renewal projects were carried out to make way for new construction. These projects involved no public hearings and many marginalized people were evicted swiftly, and most often, forcefully and violently. For example, during the development of the Pudong District between 1992 and 1997, the government demolished 22.46 million sq miles of building area and 541,400 households were displaced (Huang 2008c:216).

It is noted that Shanghai’s “impressive skylines and the exalted GDP performance” mask all the troubling realities of Shanghai’s economic growth (Huang 2008a; 2008c). Thus, Shanghai not only serves as an urban-led model of development, but at a deeper level, it is also a model that reflects a particular developmental regime that is coastal-based, rural-exploitative, and thrives on regionally imbalanced development. In the following section, I will provide a detailed evaluation of the model and also explain why the model still appeals to planners and government officials, especially in Mumbai.

Evaluating the Shanghai Model of Development

Deep and systematic anti-rural bias of economic policies

Huang (2008c:219) refers to Shanghai as the “consummate urban China” for having drained the resources of rural entrepreneurs. This top-down nature of policy aimed to increase the pace of

urbanization has proved detrimental to the rural hinterland. Huang (2008c) describes this urban-bias not only as a geographical fact, but an *ideology* that denotes a strong hand of the state, an industrial policy mentality, and a bias against low-tech entrepreneurial activities. The rural areas of Shanghai account for a significant portion of employment (29.7%) in Shanghai. However, if we look at the fixed asset size of rural Shanghai, it actually declined than the rest of China between 2001 and 2005, a period when Shanghai's economy was expanding massively. Thus, we find that even in the event of an expanding Shanghai, much of the development of the service industry was based in the urban areas with relatively less opportunities for rural entrepreneurs. In terms of wages, even though the rural wage incomes were always the highest in the country, the relative rural income ratio of Shanghai to the rest of the country declined throughout the 1990s. Thus, even though still the highest, the rural Shanghainese are comparatively poorer than 20 years ago.

Biased liberalization favoring foreign capitalists

The policy of attracting foreign investment in Shanghai proved disastrous for local entrepreneurs. The logic of generating foreign investment was based on the rationale that it would lead to more jobs for the local people. However, in reality, the heavily subsidized foreign investors generated only 10 million jobs in Shanghai as against 100 million jobs generated by the rural entrepreneurs. Further, as per the new economic policy, the FDI was to be mostly invested in areas where the technology was not competitive, however, most of the FDIs were made in areas which had little to do with technology and where there already existed a better local know-how (such as the field of herbal medicine). Moreover, the privileging of foreign investors also led to various malpractices in business such as the "round-trip" FDIs, where local entrepreneurs in order to circumvent the system would redirect their investment from a location outside China

so that it appeared to be “foreign.” Finally, Shanghai compared to the other first-generation Special Economic Zones (SEZs) such as Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Xiamen and Shekou fared much worse in terms of maintaining a balance between attracting FDIs and nurturing local entrepreneurial talent (Huang 2008c).

Rising unemployment

The Shanghai model of development was premised on the notion that it will generate employment. However, it has not lived up to its ideals as the generation of employment based on the service sector has been negligible. The urban employment increased from 5.20 million in 1990 to 5.73 million in 2002, compared to almost four times increase in the real output. As a result of this slow growth of employment, the unemployment rate in Shanghai increased almost four times from 1.5 per cent to 4.8 per cent in the period 1990-2002 (Zuo and Huang 2005).⁶⁸ Further, the employment in the primary sector dropped from 12.3 per cent to 11 per cent, while that of the service sector increased from 29.3 per cent to 48 per cent. Thus, even though there was employment generated in the service sector its contribution was marginal to the overall employment situation in the city.

Jobless growth

The Shanghai model is a peculiar case of jobless growth. While the six pillar industries of information technology, automobiles, petrochemicals, steel, assembled equipments, and bio-medicine grew rapidly (60 per cent of total industrial output by 2002), they accounted for only 30 per cent of industrial employment. On the other hand, industries such as textiles, household appliances, and other light industries suffered most severe job losses, with almost 60 per cent of the 1 million or so lay-offs concentrated in the state-owned enterprises (SOEs) during 1990-98.

⁶⁸ The figures do not include the number of jobs lost in the state-owned enterprises. It is argued that if these numbers are included the unemployment rate would double (Zuo and Huang 2005)

Further, the model is also uneconomic in the sense that it is not based on the idea of fair competition. The rapid growth of FDI in Shanghai based on preferential policies puts the local industries and entrepreneurs at a disadvantage (Zuo and Huang 2005: 79).

Anti-poor growth

Huang (2008c) highlights, since 2000 the poorest section has lost absolute income during a period of the double-digit economic growth in Shanghai. Much of China's poverty reduction occurred in the 1980s, before the reforms. In fact, Huang argues that poverty reduction slowed down dramatically since 1990s.⁶⁹ Huang (2008b:46) states that "Shanghai is rich, but an average Shanghainese is not." Even though Shanghai's GDP was 5.2 times higher than China's GDP, if you disaggregate the GDP data based on an income approach rather than an expenditure approach you find that the employees did not benefit much from this growth, while most of this growth went to the government and state-controlled firms. In 2004, employee compensation was 40 per cent of the net regional product, whereas corporate profits were 30 per cent and government taxes constituted 28.9 per cent of the net regional product (Huang 2008c:182). If we look at the income differences between the rural and urban areas we find that the ratio of urban versus rural per capita income grew from 1.8:1 in the early 1980s to 3.23:1 in 2003. The world average for this period was between 1.5:1 and 2:1 (Guerrero 2007).

The worst affected people from this model are those that are classified as "floating residents," which includes low-skilled workers who do not have legitimate household registration. The current policy related to compensation in Shanghai excludes this category of tenants and thus there is no compensation given to them in the event of urban renewal. Thus such "illegal" structures are demolished without any compensation, cash, or resettlement (Li 2005:

⁶⁹ In this context, Huang (2008c) argues that the government revised its poverty thresholds several times so statistically more people were shown to come out of poverty (p. 186).

162). The people in the rural areas too face exploitation at the behest of the nexus between the state officials and private developers. The state officials in order to speed-up the urbanization process transfer rural land from farmers' collectives at a relatively low price and resell it to private developers at market price creating resentment among the farmers (Li 2005:163).

The economic reforms have also affected the housing market which is becoming increasingly privatized. This has led to the “rolling back” of the state in public housing provision leading to proliferation of gated communities of commercially developed housing estates (known locally as *xinjian zhuzai xiaoqu*). These forms of spatial practices are further increasing the gap between the elites and the urban poor in the city such as the migrant workers, who are now seen by the rich, gated elite as the moral “other” (Pow 2007).

Ecologically unsustainable

It is argued that the high-growth led development model of China is ecologically unsustainable and reckless and is putting the country and the world on the brink of environmental catastrophe. The Pearl River Delta and Yangtze River delta, the two regions which have experienced the recent export-oriented growth, suffered from extensive contamination from heavy-metal and persistent organic pollutants. Further, changing lifestyles, increasing middle-class families, and the growing consumption-driven economy in China is also causing a lot of ecological concerns. For example, in Beijing alone, 1,000 new cars are added to the roads every day. Seven of the 10 most polluted cities in the world were located in China (Guerrero 2007).

Experimentation or blueprint?

It has been argued that the Chinese model of development led by Shanghai is unique, based on experimentation and a “high degree of tacitness” involving local knowledge and particular conditions of China. Therefore, it was not based on any form of a “blue-print” of development.

However, if we consider the large-scale projects such as the Pudong New District, aimed at revitalizing cultural lifestyles, this experimental nature of the model is questionable. Especially, if we focus on what cultural lifestyles are being revitalized and who are the people who benefit from those. For example, if you take the case of Thames Town, one of the nine new towns in the suburbs where almost 500,000 people are being resettled, the elitist and west-centric nature of place-creation is apparent. Each of these nine towns is built in a distinctive style that includes an Italian town with canals based on Venice and a German town designed by Albert Speer, the son of Hitler's favorite architect. In one of the articles on Thames Town, the author states that it features “cobbled streets, half-timbered Tudor houses, Edwardian townhouses, and a covered market with a clock tower and weather vane on top. Thames Town looks like an English country town. And that was the whole idea, to re-create Middle England in the Middle Kingdom” (Lim 2006). The same author also states that some critics have denounced the satellite town scheme as a form of *self-colonization* of placing fancy foreign settlements above the real needs of its own people. From this example it is clear that even though scholars would like to convince people of merits of economic growth based on Chinese particularism, the real picture on the ground tells us a different story. A story in which development is a code-word for building spectacles such as the Thames Town or the Pudong District to satiate the thirst of the elites for western ideas and images at the cost of most of its less fortunate people.

Why is the Model Still Appealing?

If we have seen so far that the Shanghai model of development is anything but comprehensive, just, equitable, and economically and ecologically sustainable, why is it still appealing to people within and outside China, especially Mumbai? There can be several explanations for this.

Shanghai: a symbol of high-modernity and a “resurgent Asia”

At the level of popular imagination, Shanghai (and the model) represents a symbol of a “resurgent Asia,” especially China. Some argue that the Shanghai makeover was a result of both a means to restore its past glory (seen as reconstructing Pudong as a “21st century Bund”) and also a more active process of becoming a “dragon-head” connecting the economy of China with the rest of the world (Wu 2003). Post 1990s, Shanghai has reemerged as the symbol of Chinese high-modernity.⁷⁰ Roy (2011) has argued that such “reference urbanism” is aimed at producing an “Asian urban capitalism that self-consciously presents itself as Asia, that deploys the motifs of the Asian century and that references other Asian models.” Therefore, somewhere within the celebratory and assertive tone of a “rising Asia,” Shanghai emerges as a model that represents a non-Western example of successful economic growth in the developing world. Further, it is *perceived* as an example of the East charting out its own developmental course without having to depend on Western models. In India, the rising power of China is acknowledged at the level of foreign policy with the emphasis on the “look east” policy that aims to deepen economic and cultural ties with China. In the above context, Shanghai symbolizes the new axis of power.

The political dimension

Along with this symbolic dimension, we also need to understand the role of politics in Shanghai. Shanghai has been a breeding ground for leaders of the CCP and a route for the local leaders to vest political power at the center, prime examples being President Jiang Zemin to Premier Zhu Rongji. Thus, what happens in Shanghai is closely monitored at the center. It is argued that it was the powerful political position of the city that paved the way for the development of the real

⁷⁰ Discussing the role played by transnational actors, especially the non-Chinese design professionals in the development of Lujiazui in Pudong district of Shanghai, Olds (1997) highlights how the Shanghainese planners and politicians wanted the CBD to express the goals and successes of the reform era through gleaming skyscrapers.

estate market in Shanghai, where Shanghai was granted much more flexibly to liberalize its real estate market and attract foreign investment.

The ideology of fast-growth

Outside China, people in India are enamored by the Shanghai model and want to replicate the model in Mumbai. However, if we analyze the urban planning discourses closely (as I will show in the next chapter) we find that one of the most crucial features that stand out is the idea of fast-growth: of completely transforming Mumbai into a world class city in a span of 10 years. This ideology of fast growth is based on the idea of integrating Mumbai with the global economy. In this context, the Shanghai's appeal as a "blue-print" lies in its ability to transform itself in a relatively short period of time.

GDP growth rates and the tyranny of numbers

I think a significant part of the appeal of the model lies in its spectacular aggregate economic performance such as GDP growth rates which serve to justify this model. There have been several critiques of the GDP as aggregate indicator of overall economic or social health of a nation. They range from ecological economists (Daly 2005) to feminists (Waring 1999) and have pointed out that the GDP excludes costs related to the environment, as well as ignore the role played by female household labor in production. Even though these aggregate economic indicators have become general standards of economic development, we find that historically these national accounting systems had been constructed for specific political purposes. For example, the GNP was initially developed in 1941 to measure national income affected by World War II and to justify spending on the war efforts (Waring 1999:56). Kuznets who vehemently opposed this measure wrote in 1945: "I repeat that we are not trying to measure welfare, but the value of production from a business point of view" (cited in Waring 1999:57).

More recently in 2008, the Sarkozy government commissioned a report by a committee headed by Joseph Stiglitz to identify the limits of GDP as an indicator of economic performance and social progress and to suggest alternative statistical measurements that could be more inclusive and comprehensive. The report reiterates the point that the GDP is an inadequate measure to gauge material well-being over time or sustainability based on economic, ecological, and social dimensions. One of the criticisms of the GDP highlighted by the report is that it only measures market production, but not material well-being. This can give misleading information on how well-off people are and therefore lead to wrong policy decisions. Further, the report argues that measures like GDP do not take into account crucial information such as the unequal participation in production or consumption or the impact of excessive productivism and deregulation on the society and the environment. As a result of this, measures such as the GDP have failed to make us aware of the limits of consumption of essential goods and the fact that the cost of this overconsumption is borne by the most disadvantaged groups all over the world (CMEPSP 2009).

Thus, although statistics such as the GDP may not mean much from the viewpoint of comprehensive development, they are still hegemonic in shaping people's perceptions regarding economic growth and development. Along with shaping people's perceptions, the hegemonic role of these measures can be observed in monitoring growth, setting priorities in policy making, measuring the success of policies, and measuring economic and social welfare in general. As a result (as we will see in the next chapter), despite the fact that the impressive double-digit growth rates accompanied a lot of costs, such models are uncritically accepted.

CHAPTER 4

SHANGHAIZATION OF MUMBAI:

VISIONS OF A “WORLD CLASS” MUMBAI

~I am convinced that a historic opportunity for the revamping of Mumbai presents itself before us today. Mumbai can emerge as a new financial capital of Asia, and be the bridge between Asia and the West in the world of finance....I do believe that Mumbai can learn from Shanghai's experience in reinventing itself; in rebuilding itself; in rediscovering itself. I urge every Mumbaikar to transform this city from being a Gateway to India to becoming a Gateway to Asia! (Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India 2006).⁷¹

There have been numerous studies that have focused on the contemporary urban restructuring in Mumbai (Banerjee-Guha 2002; Gandy 2008; Harris 2008; Nijman 2008; Zerah 2007). However, barring a few (Anjaria 2009; Harris 2008), there has been a relatively less focus on systematically understanding the *contextual*, *agential*, and *processual* aspects of contemporary urban transformation in Mumbai. Therefore, it is important to understand the context in which the urban development discourses emerges, who has the power to formulate these discourses, and how these discourses are mobilized to facilitate urban change. In doing this, we can get a clearer insight into the ideological underpinnings of these discourses in terms of whom they include and exclude and whose interests they serve and disserve.

Therefore, in this chapter, I systematically analyze the material contexts, agency, and processes surrounding Shanghaization of Mumbai, a term that is broadly used to describe the imaginaries and strategies of remaking Mumbai as a “world class” city and to transform the city into an “international financial center.” The chapter highlights how these primarily

⁷¹ Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh's address at the 16th Asian Corporate Conference, “Driving global business: India's new priorities, Asia's new realities,” March 18, 2006, Mumbai. Retrieved March 27, 2012 (<http://www.indianembassy.org/prdetail931/--%09--prime-minister-dr.-manmohan-singh%27s-address-at-the-16th-asian-corporate-conference-driving-global-business-%3A-india%27s-new-priorities,-asia%27s-new-realities>).

entrepreneurial visions of “world classing” Mumbai were formulated by the state (national and local) in collaboration with sections of the local elite in the city, which include some of the city’s prominent business organizations, NGOs, and individuals. In this regard, the chapter focuses not only on the “products”—the texts produced by these agents, but also on the “processes”—the negotiations within the emerging networks that materialize these visions. Some of the key questions that are addressed are: What are the structural factors that enable contemporary “worlding” of Mumbai? How do these structural factors interact with local actors in shaping the hegemonic discourses of “worlding?” What are the developmental visions espoused by these discourses? Are these visions inclusive and broad-based or do they reflect narrow power interests?

An Agential Understanding of Urban Change

The mainstream literature on urbanization primarily focuses on accumulation and ignores the political and local-historical contexts of “global cities.” In doing this, it gives more importance to the power of global actors and institutions, and underestimates local agency and contingency (Shatkin 2007:1). Unwittingly, cities are reified as abstract economic spaces, devoid of people and agency. Therefore, there is need for an “actor-centered” urban analysis where diverse local actors such as developers, emerging consumer classes, local and national governments, and corporate actors are seen as active participants in urban transformation (Shatkin 2007). In this regard, the “growth machine” literature in the US has highlighted that power to organize city space (and to imagine a city) is conflict-ridden and involves a wide variety of social actors that come together to form broader coalitions with the government playing the facilitating role. This broader coalition usually consists of local chambers of commerce, local financiers, industrialists, business leaders, real estate and property developers, educational and religious institutions, local

labor organizations, political parties, social movements, and local state agencies (Harvey 1989a; Molotch 1976).

Some scholars have used the term “entrepreneurial city” to highlight the processual aspects of entrepreneurialism in urban development (Jessop 1998a; Jessop and Sum 2000). The city is, therefore, no longer is just a location where entrepreneurial activities take place, but city by itself has become an entity that pursues entrepreneurial advantages (Fu 2003:1675). In this context, the city, just like the firm, has become an entity through which entrepreneurial strategies are implemented (Jessop and Sum 2000). Jessop and Sum (2000:2289) propose three criteria that differentiate an entrepreneurial city from a nonentrepreneurial city. They argue that the entrepreneurial city could be defined as a city that pursues entrepreneurial *strategies* in an entrepreneurial *discourse* or *fashion* through a promotion of entrepreneurial *images*.

Thus, summarizing recent studies on urbanism highlight the following features of emerging urbanism: interurban competition to attract investments and jobs, a shift in municipal governance from social development to economic development and entrepreneurialism, increasing importance of real-estate development in the urban economy as expressed in urban renewal, “privatization of planning” involving an entrepreneurial stance to economic development through innovations and public-private partnerships and privatization of urban services (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Harvey 1989a; Leitner et al. 2007; Molotch 1976; Shatkin 2007; Smith 2002).

Shanghai’s Reglobalization Strategy

As highlighted in the earlier quote of the Indian Prime Minister, the attempt to make Mumbai “world class” by “reinventing, rebuilding, rediscovering itself” just like Shanghai. Therefore, the attempt to position Mumbai as the “new financial capital of Asia” can also be seen a way to

reglobalize the city by strategically reintegrating the Indian economy with the world in a new finance-driven world economy. In this regard it wants to emulate Shanghai's recent experience of reglobalization based on the "dragon's head strategy."

In a famous 1992 speech, Deng Xiaoping announced that Yangtse River Delta (within which Shanghai is located) would serve as the "dragon's head" and lead China's modernization (Wasserstorm 2003:52). This was seen as a post-socialist entrepreneurial attempt to reglobalize Shanghai in order to connect China with the global economy and to restore its prominent international status (Wu 2003:1686). The "dragon's head" reglobalizing strategy involved the construction of a new financial center in Pudong, the use of market-oriented land development to overcome the initial capital constraint, and government's strategic investment in infrastructure development, and mega urban construction projects (Wu 2003). Shanghai, therefore, underwent a massive urban renewal program and in a short period of time the Pudong region was transformed from a rural agricultural zone into China's leading financial district. The enormity of investment and urban renewal in Shanghai can be gauged from the fact that it was observed that at the end of the millennium there were about "23,000 building sites and some 20 percent of the world's cranes" in Shanghai (Wasserstorm 2003:52). This kind of massive construction in Shanghai is probably unmatched in the history of megacity development. From 1992 to 2007, Shanghai has experienced the fastest economic growth by any megacity in the world, averaging 12 percent annually. Thus, as discussed in the previous chapter, Shanghai's appeal to planners and city elite in Mumbai also rests on this dramatic manner in which the city transformed itself in a relatively short period of time.

One of the strategies of converting Shanghai into a "global city" included creating a new space for the financial center. In order to raise the capital necessary for this, market-oriented land

development was encouraged. Further, the government also was involved in improving the infrastructure in the city to increase the competitiveness of the city. Moreover, a new decentralized fiscal strategy was devised which benefited Shanghai, which in the days of centralized planning bore much of the fiscal burden. Further, the central government also provided generous tax rebates and special subsidies to Shanghai. This increase in local revenue, along with the generous support of the central government enabled Shanghai to carry out most of its urban development programs in the 1990s (Wu 2003).

Along with economic reform, there was also a concerted effort made by the municipal government in Shanghai to promote Shanghai as being international and cosmopolitan just like Shanghai in the past. Metaphors such as “Paris of the Orient” were used to link Shanghai’s global, entrepreneurial past to the Shanghai that would link China with the world economy. The following excerpt from address of the municipal government at the eve of the 1999 Fortune Global Forum makes this point clear:

China is a developing country and Shanghai is doing its best to solve the various problems it encounters in the course of progress. But suppose you have a preoccupied impression of the developing countries, and are full of mysterious images of early Hollywood’s films, then when you come to Shanghai for the first time you may be puzzled by the skyscrapers as those in Manhattan, surprised at the three dimensional road system in the city or amazed at the well-dressed and happy people, as it is a modern city in the sunshine, greatly different from what you’ve imagined.....Shanghai has modernized museums, grand theatre, and libraries; Shanghai possesses its own English newspaper, English broadcasting and TV programs; you can conveniently watch foreign TV programs; Shanghai’s internet channels you to the world; besides luxurious hotels and restaurants, there are also special bars and eating places of European, American, Thai or Mexican style (Cited in Wu 2003:1688).

The above quote highlights the fact that in order to attract foreign investment to the city, a new urban image of Shanghai was being created. It is found that in most of such place promotional literature there were two recurring themes: first, the “city of work,” which highlights the pro-

business environment of the city and second, the “city at play” that aims to attract global investors to the city by highlighting global lifestyles.⁷²

David Harvey (2005:39) argues that in a democratic political context, the neoliberal project had to be established through a construction of political consent across a broad spectrum of people. He argues that in this construction of consent, cultural values, fears, and the political rhetoric of “freedom” were employed to justify neoliberal ideas and to create a “common sense” (Gramsci 1971; Laclau and Mouffe 1985). This neoliberal common sense was based on a supportive public opinion created through a circulation of these ideas in corporations, organizations of civil society, and various intellectuals and their think tanks with the help of the media. However, Harvey further argues that this process of active construction of consent has shown a considerable degree of variation and it is important to understand the specific conditions within which this consent is constructed.

Mumbai’s “Art of being global”: The Genealogy of the Shanghaization Discourse

For a summary of the following discussion see Table 6.

The material contexts of Shanghaization

The Shanghaization discourse as a “city-centric growth strategy” is articulated within a specific global, national, and local context (Kennedy and Zerah 2008). Certain key trends at the global level bear heavily on the developments in Mumbai: increasing mobility of capital; new international division of labor; privatization and the rescaling of the state; and deregulation and opening of the national economies.

⁷² Short and Kim (2000) cited in Wu (2003:1689).

Table 7. Genealogy of the Shanghaization Discourse	
Material Contexts	
Global	Growth of emerging economies (1970s)
National	New Economic Policy (1992) Political reforms (1992)
Local/urban	Decline of manufacturing and increase in finance and service (1980s-90s) Real estate boom (1996) Rise in middle class consumption (post 1990s)
Connections and Consent (Actors/Processes)	
1993	McKinsey & Co. SICOM Report
1995	Bombay First (think-tank of BCCI) formed
1997	Visits by Mayor of London and City of London Corporation
September 2003	Vision Mumbai Report by McKinsey & Co.
February 2004	Government of Maharashtra Task Force Report
October 2004	PM's speech—Shanghai
November 2004—March 2005	Slum Evictions—90,000 homes of slum dwellers demolished
2007	Ministry of Finance Report on Mumbai as a Financial Center

The growth of emerging economies was related to the economic fortunes of the advanced economies. After 1970s, in the context of declining industrial productivity and interest rates in the advanced economies in the North, countries in the South were seen as potential markets for the American investors. Further, facilitated by the advancement in technologies of transport and communication, emerging economies also became centers of production and investment due to the low supply of capital and higher returns to investments (Schwartzman 2004). However, global capital mobility requires a convergence of markets which further requires fundamental reforms in the political and economic systems. In India, this process of economic reforms began

in the 1980s, but the official policy of liberalization and privatization was announced in 1991. Further, in 1992, as part of the structural adjustment program to facilitate economic liberalization, the central government announced a policy of political devolution of authority through 74th Amendment Act to enlarge the scope of municipal institutions. These reforms have transformed the institutional framework of urban governance in India and have created the conditions for increasing private sector involvement in policy-making and implementation.

Along with the above mentioned structural changes, there are local socio-spatial and cultural factors that have shaped the emerging “world class” discourses in Mumbai. First is the shift from manufacturing to finance and services. This not only affected the working classes in the city, but also radically transformed the built-environment in the city. Harvey (1989) argues that space is constantly reproduced to accommodate increasingly dispersed capital. According to him, mobility of capital is only made possible by production of relative stable and immobile geographical landscapes such as the built environments, transportation infrastructure, production and business complexes, and communication networks. In Mumbai, the decline of manufacturing “freed-up” huge tracts of lands in the city for redevelopment due to the closing of the textile mills. Due to political lobbying by mill owners and real estate developers and directives from the central government, the state government amended earlier protectionist land related legislations such as the Development Control Rules of 1991. The state government also scrapped the Urban Land Ceiling Act. These changes facilitated the sale of 600 acres of mill lands and it is estimated that an additional 25,000 hectares of land would be “freed-up” to attract foreign investors in real estate development.⁷³ The shift in the urban economy toward finance and services has increased the demand for office space in the city. This led to steep rise in the real estate prices. In fact, in

⁷³ Krittivas Mukherjee and Devidutta Tripathy. 2007. Maharashtra scraps land law, property prices rise. November 29. *Reuters*, India. Retrieved March 9, 2011 (<http://in.reuters.com/article/2007/11/29/idINIndia-30749620071129>).

1996, some of the world's highest real estate prices were reported in Mumbai as a result of increased speculation. This speculation was a result of the optimistic climate created for foreign investors and entrepreneurs by the economic reforms in 1991. However, along with foreign investors, local actors such as realtors and developers in association with local governments and public agencies played an important role in this speculation (Nijman 2000). The decline of manufacturing and rising real estate prices led to a relocation of industry outside Mumbai leading to the decreased competitiveness of the city vis-à-vis other cities such as Bangalore and Hyderabad. As a result, for the first time, the city experienced negative growth rates in the late 1990s (D'monte 2002). This declining growth provided the immediate context within which visions of radically transforming the city were imagined by the city's economic elite who had high stakes in a "world class" Mumbai.

Economic reforms mostly benefitted the urban middle classes as seen in their rising incomes (Fernandes 2004; Nijman 2006). In Mumbai, this has led to a social polarization of classes in terms of "middle classes pulling away from the poor and low-income areas" (Nijman 2006:773). Along with this, there has been a significant increase in middle-class and upper-middle class credit-based consumption driven by financing, marketing, and advertizing industries (Nijman 2006). In cultural terms, rising incomes and the spread of a global consumerist culture has created a demand for better urban services and infrastructure and "middle-class lifestyles," promoted by the leisure industry (Falzon 2004; Fernandes 2000, 2004, Nijman 2006). These growing aspirations of the middle classes is reflected in their readiness in redefining public space in the city as well as in accepting the rhetoric of a "world class" Mumbai.

Connections and consent (actors/processes) of Shanghaization

The “global” or “world class” city is no longer merely a heuristic tool to understand the importance of certain cities in the world economy, but is increasingly used as a benchmark by certain “wanna-be world cities” (Short and Kim 1999). Mumbai’s “world class” aspirations began to take shape in the late 1990s, when a set of diverse social actors, guided by the modernist visions of cities in the West, began deconstructing the innumerable problems that plagued the city (refer to Table 6 for the following discussion). They began questioning the poor quality of life, ineffective governance, and the noncompetitive environment in the city. Over a period of time, there emerged a “growth coalition” in Mumbai that included city’s industrial and political elite; professional consultants; multilateral aid agencies such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank; and urban research initiatives such as the Urban Age and the Cities Alliance.

In 1993, consultancy firm McKinsey & Company published a SICOM (a Government of Maharashtra owned company) commissioned report for the state, which perhaps for the first time referred to transforming Bombay into a financial center. Citing Maharashtra’s low ranking in infrastructure in the 1992 World Competitiveness Report, it recommended several changes in land and labor legislations to improve state’s infrastructure and create opportunities for businesses. Thus, Bombay was to act as a source of attracting business in Maharashtra (D’monte 2002). This was an important report as it opened up the discursive space for various private actors including the local chamber of commerce—the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and Industry (BCCI) and the real estate companies to weigh in on matters related to city’s transformation. Post-reforms, these globally mobile actors were keenly following what was happening to other cities in the West. London was one of the cities that attracted them due to its

similarities with Mumbai. Both were port cities, both had experienced recent deindustrialization, and both had certain strategic geographical advantages (in terms of time zones and location) that could propel them as leaders in the global financial market. London had successfully transitioned from an industrial city to a major financial center. A local business partnership called London First had played a key role in this transformation. Some corporate houses in Mumbai formed a similar initiative called Bombay First in 1995. Later, Bombay First became a key think-tank of the BCCI and has emerged as one of the key proponents of the “world class city” discourse in Mumbai (Harris 2008). For the initial funding for the think-tank, the BCCI approached various banks (ICICI, HDFC) and corporate houses in Mumbai such as Tata and Mahindra. From the beginning it was clear that Bombay First wanted to strategically position itself in the fragmented discursive landscape of the city through conscious image branding. This was reflected in the choice of its first CEO, Gerson da Cunha, a theater actor, former advertizing professional, and an activist and trustee of a prominent NGO in Mumbai—Action for Good Governance and Networking in India (AGNI). da Cunha was instrumental in giving Bombay First a formal structure and in the constitution of its expert committees.⁷⁴

However, it was Mr. B.G. Deshmukh, a former municipal commissioner of Mumbai and Cabinet Secretary (the highest ranking civil servant in the country) who was a key figure in the formation of Bombay First. After retiring from the civil service, Mr. B. G. Deshmukh joined Tata Sons (a key promotional wing of the Tatas, one of India’s oldest and largest business families) as Director of Sales. One of his colleagues, an economic adviser in the same company who later became a member of the economic committee of Bombay First, describes the earlier events leading up to the formation of Bombay First, which is worth quoting at length:

⁷⁴ Sunil Bhandare, personal interview, December 16, 2009.

He (B.G.Deshmukh) saw certain information coming around about London First that used to appear in the Financial Times. So he used to send us some clippings of that and then he said let us discuss about it. He said let us think about it. So then we started working on it in the department of economics at Tata Sales and Services. At that time there was no concept of a Bombay First, it was just Mumbai's problems and how Mumbai is going down, because of its industries, because the textile industry was virtually dead, and many other manufacturing activity gradually started moving out of the city, which led to the decline and fall of industry in Mumbai. A need was being felt to have some alternative approach. So then he was able to get like-minded people, including Jamsheed Kanga, who also was a municipal commissioner of Mumbai at one time but was then working with the Tata's after his retirement in the Housing Company. So he and many others from the Bombay Chambers came together and we had informal discussions and we decided to meet with some international experts and we called a conference.⁷⁵

In 1997, Bombay First invited the Mayor of London and key members of the City of London Corporation to offer recommendations for improving city's competitiveness. The main task that lay before the think-tank was to convince the government about the changes that needed to be done. In this regard, Bombay First began to commission studies that began gathering data on various aspects of Mumbai such as infrastructure, housing, and governance and simultaneously began to benchmark these figures against other cities in the West. Mr. Narinder Nair, who took over as the Chairman of Bombay First in 2002-2003, explains:

We reorganized Bombay First when I took over as a Chairman of Bombay First. So we were looking at what was ailing in the city, what was wrong, the quality of life was coming down, we had water problems, sanitation, transport, roads, growth rate had come down to 2.4 percent, where as the State growth rate was 4.8 and the National growth was 5.5. So we said something is wrong somewhere, what is wrong? So we went to the government. We met the Chief Minister, the Chief Secretary, the city Commissioner and told them that the city's quality of life is not right and that people are not happy. So we asked them are you aware of what is wrong? They said, ya (sic), things are not good, this and that, so we asked, are you aware what needs to be done? Nobody had a clear idea. They said Yes and No. So we said okay, we would come with a document, and you work with us, on how Bombay could be transformed into a world class city

⁷⁵ Sunil Bhandare, personal interview, December 16, 2009.

over a ten year period. If we have the document of that sort, the then Chief Minister said that he would work with us.⁷⁶

Bombay First later commissioned McKinsey & Company to prepare a report on transforming Mumbai into a “world class city” in seemingly serendipitous circumstances. In 2003, Sunil Bhandare, an economic expert at the BCCI (who later became the CEO of Bombay First) met Mr. Ranjit Pandit a consultant with McKinsey in one of the BCCI meetings. Just two years prior to that, in a time of economic gloom, McKinsey had prepared a “feel-good” report for the NDA national government that highlighted that India could achieve an annual growth rate of 10 percent by utilizing its human and financial capital more effectively. Inspired by this report, Bhandare approached Ranjit Pandit to prepare a similar report for Mumbai; in his words, the report “lifted the ambitions of growth” for Mumbai.⁷⁷ Moreover, as McKinsey had also prepared a document for Maharashtra government 10 years earlier, it was familiar with the institutional set up of the region. Bombay First also wanted to use the reputation and the international brand image of McKinsey to strengthen their case. McKinsey prepared this report free of cost for Bombay First! In September 2003, McKinsey published the report, *Vision Mumbai: Transforming Mumbai into a World-Class City* (henceforth the *Vision Mumbai* report), and presented it to the then Chief Minister of Maharashtra Mr. Sushil Kumar Shinde. The Chief Minister, who was keen on implementing the recommendations of the report, announced in his acceptance speech a Special Task Force. The *Vision Mumbai* report, is a culmination of the efforts of Bombay First and gave a concrete shape to its visions of converting Mumbai into a “world class city” (Bombay First 2003). Following the *Vision Mumbai* report, the Government of Maharashtra (GOM) published its own Task Force report in February 2004 which was more or less a copy of the *Vision Mumbai* report (Government of Maharashtra 2004). Both these

⁷⁶ Narinder Nayar, personal interview, December 17, 2009.

⁷⁷ Sunil Bhandare, personal interview, December 16, 2009.

reports have attracted considerable attention from a cross-section of the city including the media, academic community, activists, and policy makers.

Over the years, Bombay First has been able to successfully network internationally and build alliances with like-minded think-tanks, professional consultants, international municipal agencies, and multilateral aid agencies by way of organizing workshops and conferences. In May 2005, Bombay First organized an international conference on urban renewal, “Learnings from Mumbai,” that had delegates from Australia, Thailand, the US, and the UK (Harris 2008). Recently Bombay First and London First have jointly organized a series of conferences to deal with issues of security in the city after the terrorist bombings in 2008. In January 2009, a conference entitled “Lessons from 9/11, 7/7 and 26/11 for safer cities” was held in London which included the Commissioner of London, the former Secretary of the US Department for Homeland Security, Chairman of the committee related to 7/7 London bombings, a member of the US 9/11 Commission, and the former Senior Adviser to US Department for Homeland Security. In November 2009, a two-day conference entitled “Megamorphosis: Resurgence of Mumbai” was organized in Mumbai. At this conference, papers were presented on issues related to economic growth, housing, education, health care, and infrastructure. All the papers presented at the conference were prepared by international consulting firms such as KPMG, PricewaterhouseCoopers, and Delloite and by corporate think tanks such as Bombay First and Janagraha of Bangalore.

This international networking of Bombay First has helped it tremendously in leveraging its position vis-à-vis the local and state government and to create the necessary institutional mechanisms that would enable them to carry out their agenda of urban planning. The two key channels that were established as a result of their lobbying are the Citizens’ Action Group (CAG)

and the Empowered Committee (EC). The CAG is supposed to be a representative advisory body consisting of diverse members of the civil society. However, its actual membership consists mostly of representatives of selective government and business friendly NGOs and organizations. The EC is a much more powerful decision-making body and is even more selective and is represented by a few prominent people from Mumbai's corporate sector and a few government officials. As an urban planner in Mumbai puts it:

What is happening in the empowered committee [is] a mutually beneficial arrangement. The industry representatives through Bombay First find a good forum (apart from what is on the agenda) to talk to senior bureaucrats, get established, generally see what is happening. And if they have any personal thing that needs to be settled then see how that could be settled. Senior bureaucrats are also happy to be in the good books of senior Industrialists. It works very well and actually one of the bureaucrats who were championing the whole process of this report [the *Vision Mumbai* report] has moved to Tata Realty.”⁷⁸

In fact, there is an increasing trend of mid-career bureaucrats leaving their prestigious administrative jobs to join the corporate sector.⁷⁹ And most of these bureaucrats are joining various public-private partnership (PPP) initiatives, especially in infrastructure, which require close collaboration between the government and private companies. In fact the private sector is actively recruiting these mid-career bureaucrats in order to “facilitate” their working with the government. One of the corporate executives working in a consultancy firm involved in a PPP in infrastructure observes:

Former bureaucrats are like our crutches in the corridors of the government and accelerate processes since they come with a vast knowledge of how the official machinery functions and are armed with a network of acquaintances in the government.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Vidyadhar Date, personal interview, December 12, 2009.

⁷⁹ Makarand Gadgil. 2007. IAS loses sheen, corporate catch talent. *Business Standard*, February 13. I thank Simpreet Singh for providing additional information.

⁸⁰ Sreelalatha Menon. 2007. Mid-career mandarins head for India Inc. *Business Standard*, September 19.

Recently Bombay First has been instrumental in shaping the 50 year long concept plan of Mumbai. Interestingly, since the last two to three years, Singapore is emerging as the long-term model of development for Mumbai. In the Megamorphosis conference of 2009, one of the keynote speakers was Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, the longest serving Prime Minister of Singapore and the architect behind transformation of Singapore. And in 2010, a Singapore-based consultants Surbana International was selected to prepare the concept plan. Explaining this entire selection process, Narinder Nayar says:

When Lee Kuan Yew, took over as the Prime Minister in the 1960s, Singapore was in a bad shape. He said where do I want my city to be in a span of 50 years? So they prepared a concept plan, based on which they have worked out their ideas. So we were invited to Singapore to see what they have done. So based on their model, a concept plan should be prepared. Finally the idea was accepted by the government. We were a part of the process of preparing the plan. International tenders were invited. 39 companies had responded, national and international, they were ready to prepare the plan. 14 companies were then shortlisted. Out of the 14, nine eventually came to make their presentations. For 2 days, senior bureaucrats sat along with Malabar, in one of the government's guest house. For two days from 9 in the morning to 7 in the evening looking at the various proposals Planning is a new subject for people in Bombay, so we asked Singapore government to send two planners to help us select. So Singapore experts came and they helped us and out of nine, finally four, were chosen and asked to submit detailed proposals, financial proposal and out of the four one has been selected.⁸¹

The task of Surbana International was to formulate a plan to transform Mumbai into a world class metropolis by 2052. It presented its plan to the government in March 2011. Some of its key recommendations were: to decongest the city and improve the quality of life by building planned urban conglomerates in the suburbs of Mumbai, increasing the FSI (up to 15 in some areas), and to reclaim land from the sea.⁸²

⁸¹ Narinder Nayar, personal interview, December 17, 2009.

⁸² Chittaranjan Tembhekar and Ashley D'Mello. 2011. Future city: taller, wider and faster, *The Times of India*, March 5.

Interrogating Emerging Developmental Visions of Mumbai

Along with material practices, discourses play a very important role in any power struggle. It is the everyday exchanges that opinions are formed and perceptions shaped. Rather, than viewing social practices as being antithetical to each other, they reinforce each other. Michael de Certeau has highlighted how discourses “open a field” for social practices (Certeau 1984:125). Therefore, language is not merely expressive, but also productive. Studies have shown that language plays an important role in shaping urban transformation.⁸³ In the following section, I critically analyze recent discourses of urban transformation in Mumbai and in doing this I will try to highlight the ideological biases that shape their visions of “worlding” Mumbai.

“Vision Mumbai” (1993-2007)

The MMRDA 1996-2011 Draft Plan, published in 1995, asserts that Mumbai can emerge as an “international city” based on “growth of financial and business services, and hi-tech, export-oriented industries.” In order to do so, the plan recommends “increased investment by private sector in infrastructure and other developments, appropriate structural changes in the Region’s economy, and adoption of land use policies that respond to market potential” (MMRDA 1995:i).⁸⁴ This implies removal of all regulatory, political, and infrastructural barriers that hinder the process of attaining “international city” status. In many ways, the plan replaces the objectives of earlier 1973 plan that emphasized dispersal and decentralization of industry and a much wider vision of providing infrastructure and employment to larger sections of the city. The new plan emphasizes on centralization, financial investment, and a consolidation of trade, services, and industry as per the agglomeration logic (Banerjee-Guha 2002).

⁸³ For example, Caldeira (2000) shows how the fear and talk of crime organizes and shapes the urban landscape and public space in São Paulo.

⁸⁴ The MMRDA, the region’s premier implementing agency, was founded in 1973 and since then every 10-15 years it has formulated a draft plan for regional development. Its first draft was published in 1973 and the second in 1995.

The *Vision Mumbai* report of 2003 has the goal of “transforming Mumbai into a world class city with a vibrant economy and a globally comparable quality of life for its citizens.” The report claims that through its *comprehensive vision*, Mumbai can transform itself into a “world class city” within a 10-15 year time-frame (Bombay First 2003:vii, emphasis added). Some of its main recommendations are: increasing land availability by 50-70 per cent; constructing one million low-income housing units for slum-dwellers; creating “islands of excellence” (up-scale residential and commercial spaces); and redevelop the city block-by-block (2003:20-23).

In 2005, during the budget speech India’s Finance Minister Mr. P. Chidambaram announced the plan of converting Mumbai into an “international finance center” and of making financial services the next growth engine for India. To that effect, a committee (Percy Committee) was appointed to recommend relevant reforms. Along with the usual financial sector reforms such as full capital account convertibility, abolition of securities transaction tax and stamp duties, and streamlining public debt, the committee also recommended construction of premium infrastructure in the city citing similar efforts of other financial centers such as London and Dubai. The committee specifically recommended the building of new roads, expressways, and water-borne transportation. Along with infrastructure, the committee also recommended creating more office space in the city by scrapping old laws that regulated land ceilings such as ULCRA. According to the committee, almost 40 per cent of the demand for commercial office space came from the financial services sector and that the city can absorb almost 10-15 million square feet of additional office space.⁸⁵ However, the recommendations of the committee were contested by various regulatory authorities. A clear division of opinion emerged between the bankers and the regulating authorities such as Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI) and the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) over issues related to regulation of financial instruments

⁸⁵ “Mumbai: An International Financial Center—Special Report.” *Business Standard*, April 4, 2009, p.4.

and the issue of control resulting from full capital convertibility. For the bankers without full convertibility it was impossible for Mumbai to emerge as an international financial sector, while the regulating agencies such as the RBI was wary of malpractices resulting from deregulation and preferred partial regulation without relinquishing its control over the financial markets.⁸⁶

In 2007, the Ministry of Finance published the *Report of the High Powered Expert Committee on Making Mumbai an International Financial Centre*. The report envisions a creation of an International Financial Center in Mumbai as a route to faster deregulation, liberalization, and globalization of the Indian financial system. It envisions that Mumbai will play a very important role in bringing about a “financial revolution” in India (Government of India 2007: xiv-xv). The report argues that India should “move up in the value chain” from low-value knowledge/business processing (BPO and KPO) to a high-end producer and exporter of international financial services (IFS). It argues that financial services tend to get concentrated in a small number of “imaginative people” such as lawyers, accountants, financial and tax experts. These people have extended networks with clients all over the world, but their nature of job demands that they have “intensive interaction”, “inter-personal information flows,” and “complex negotiations” (Government of India 2007:xv). An IFC is most suited for such economies of agglomeration.

Fast-growth

To instill a sense of urgency for Mumbai’s rapid transformation both the reports employ a strategy of fear that describes Mumbai as a city heading towards a catastrophe. The contemporary moment is described as a “tipping point” in the history of Mumbai that warrants immediate implementation of the recommendations of the reports. The *Vision Mumbai* report states that “Mumbai is currently at a critical juncture. It must implement the eight initiatives

⁸⁶ Ibid.

outlined...and it *must do it now*. Otherwise it is in grave danger of *collapsing completely*” (2003:2, emphasis added). The GOM report too uses a similar language: “Mumbai hovers perpetually on the *brink of collapse*...In this moment of *promise and peril*...if it neglects to change course, it risks entering the *graveyard of failed cities*...Mumbai stands in *urgent need* of a game plan” (2004:2, emphasis added).⁸⁷

The reports endorse fast growth policies that are expected to yield instant results. Thus, reform must come in “leaps,” “step jumps,” and “quick wins” through a “fast track” and not through “incremental changes.” Some of the examples of “quick wins” that the GOM Report argues will help build credibility for change are: beautification of Marine Drive (one of the most upscale localities in Mumbai), the “Mumbai *Chakachak*” clean-up project, and improving the airport ambience.⁸⁸

Elitist/middle class bias

Both the reports have a distinct elitist and west-centric bias and cater to the affluent sections of the city that are connected to the emerging consumerist, high-wired economy. For example, some of the 23 “quick wins” listed by the *Vision Mumbai* report are: developing the downtown area (e.g., creating the “Rock and Roll Hall of Fame”); building world class multi-purpose indoor stadium, conventional center, and housing project; improving airport ambience; creating a world class commercial district with restaurants and cafes (2003:10&28). Further, the world class “standards or benchmarks” are based on “quantitative aspirations” derived from a survey of ten cities, mostly in the West. Thus, growth and development is seen through a modernist lens

⁸⁷ On this account, it is interesting to note that the *Vision Mumbai* report was published in September 2003, while the GOM Report in February 2004. Thus, even though the latter claims that a lot of time was spent deliberating on the far reaching recommendations of the former report, the GOM Report was signed in just over four months!

⁸⁸ *Chakachak* literally translated means clean, swanky, or polished.

that insists on “catching up” and bridging the “gaps” between current (underdeveloped) and world class (Western) standards.

The elitist bias of the emerging growth visions is also seen in the hegemonic “one vision for the city” that clearly differentiates between “city of *slums*” and “city of *homes*” (thus slums are not considered as homes) and “low-value-added *labor*” and “high-value-*talent*” (thus low-value is devoid of any talent).⁸⁹

This elitist bias is further revealed in the discussion of new urban infrastructure in the city that essentially centers on premium infrastructure. In order to create such an IFC, the Ministry of Finance report calls for an “enabling” environment from the state. This includes broader reforms in the financial system in India and improving Mumbai’s infrastructure and political and administrative governance. These reforms, the report argues, would help to attract a “globile” (globally mobile) financial workforce. In this context, the report states:

The individuals that Mumbai must attract (*and who matter most*) to be globally competitive in providing IFS-are affluent, mobile and multi-culturally inclined in terms of their habits, tastes, and preferences. They demand world class facilities to live, work, and play, as well as world standards of infrastructure and urban governance. They have ample choice in terms of where they (and their families) choose to be located and how their time is allocated. Whether they choose to locate in Mumbai will be influenced by the attractions of Mumbai as a global city in which they can live, work and play in a manner similar to what they can do in other GFCs (Government of India 2007:xxix, emphasis added).

In order to ensure that these “VIPs” consider Mumbai as their destination, the report further provides additional recommendations related to infrastructure, a cosmopolitan culture, lifestyle facilities, and governance (Government of India 2007: xxix-xxx). In terms of improving Mumbai’s infrastructure it calls for high-speed roads/urban expressways; good quality airports and air connections; high-quality residential, commercial, shopping, and recreational space that

⁸⁹ See GOM Report (2004: 4) which contrasts between the Indian and world class standards.

meets “global standards for construction, finish, and maintenance.” It recommends that the government becomes more “expatriate friendly” by providing user-friendly visas and exhibits a “gentle, tolerant, open, and welcoming culture.” In terms of lifestyle, facilities concerning human welfare need to be “brought up to world standards and run on world class lines.” These lifestyles of human “welfare,” include, along with hospitals and educational facilities, “recreational facilities” such as sports stadium, gymnasiums, parks, clubs, hotels, bars, racecourses, casinos and “cultural institutions that cater to global tastes” such as libraries, art galleries, and museums. Finally, the report emphasizes that the quality of governance, personal security, and law enforcement needs to improve dramatically from “third-world to first-world standards.” This in its own words, Mumbai needs to become a “first-world city that can attract the brightest minds of the world by being an attractive place to live, work, and play” (Government of India 2007: xxxi)

Urban entrepreneurialism and quality of life

One of the frequent development tropes used to justify Mumbai’s transformation agenda is that of the “poor as an entrepreneur.” This has further gained currency in recent times through notable films on Mumbai, such as the “Slumdog Millionaire.” This idea of the “poor as an entrepreneur” is rooted in an ideology of consumption that reduces the identity of the poor to merely a cog in the accumulation machine, rather than a right-bearing human being. This point is clearly highlighted through the following example from a presentation of the Chairman of the Bombay First, made at an event sponsored by Cities Alliance and the World Bank in Washington in 2010. The Chairman begins his presentation by this quote:

What do you call a city that’s a magnet for the corporate world, a financial rival to the top cities, a city built on hopes, dreams, and aspirations, a creation of human energy and ingenuity... a city that’s always open for business?⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Narinder Nair, “Public Private Partnership Success Story for Regeneration of a Metropolis,” Bombay First, Washington, April 26, 2010.

Later in the same presentation, the Chairman lists among other people the following that “keep Mumbai running” (note the machine analogy in the first two):

- The coolie...the human baggage trolley
- The taxi driver...who needs GPS with him around?
- The fisherwoman...expert in the fine art of negotiation
- The dabbawalla [lunch box-carrier]...makes sure city workers get their lunch on time (he also cites that this service has earned a six sigma rating from Forbes magazine -for 99.99% efficiency)

Further, in driving home the point that Mumbai is a land of opportunity for everyone, he says “even begging pays...Mumbai beggars earn more than \$40 million a year.” He does not cite any sources from where he got this statistic.

Recent political decentralization has enabled the growth of middle class activism in Mumbai in the form of neighborhood associations. These neighborhood associations have particularly vocal about the need for better governance at the local level that focuses on “quality of life” for the city-dwellers. Through an organized network of middle-and upper-middle class NGOs in Mumbai (such as AGNI, CitiSpace, and Loksatta) neighborhood associations have emerged as an important pressure group in the city. The issues taken up by these associations include solid waste management, beautification of space, and monitoring land use and urban space (Anjaria 2006; Bhowmik 2006); Zérah 2007). The people mobilized through these organizations mostly belong to the “new middle class” or the traditional English speaking older residents of the city (Zérah 2007). But how does this “middle-class activism” relate to the larger politics of “world classing” Mumbai?

In the context of increasing urban entrepreneurialism, *quality of life* has emerged as a key feature for measuring the competitiveness of a city (Rogerson 1999). In order to attract investment and jobs, quality of life is narrowly conceptualized to suit the interests of capital. The

earlier discussion on the government report to convert Mumbai into an international financial center clearly highlights this point. However, the neoliberal discourse of quality of life is not merely rooted in an economic dynamic, but at a much deeper level it reflects a particular cultural aesthetic and sensibility associated primarily with “western” consumerist lifestyles.

One of the “quick-wins” of “Vision Mumbai,” is to preserve open spaces in the city and do discourage “encroachment” through “adoption” of recreational space in the city (such as playgrounds and gardens) by private agencies (NAGAR Newsletter March 2004). CitiSpace or Citizens’ Forum for Protection of Public Spaces (a prominent NGO in the city) was one of the key stake-holders consulted in preparing the “Vision Mumbai” report. It claims to have lobbied for inclusion of the discussion on open spaces in the report.⁹¹

CitiSpace was formed in 1998 and consists of a network of 500 resident associations, community based organizations, NGOs, and commercial establishments.⁹² The basic philosophy of CitiSpace rests on protecting public spaces in the city. For this they rely on the provisions laid out by the land-use planning in the city which reserve public and open spaces such as beaches, mangroves, and land reserved for public amenities. According to the organization, over the years, land reserved for public space is siphoned off through “encroachment and land grab,” primarily through a politically driven process of slum creation and illegal construction. As a result, CitiSpace has taken it upon itself to preserve open spaces and stop the “illegal encroachment,” especially by street vendors (Anjaria 2006; Bhowmik 2006). In this context, CitiSpace has made use of the judiciary (effectively by-passing the municipal authorities) in energizing some legal orders related to regulation of space in the city. One such legal order was about creation of hawking zones that would restrict hawking activities to certain designated areas

⁹¹ Neera Punj, personal interview, July 15, 2009.

⁹² NAGAR (NGO Alliance for Governance and Renewal) website (www.nagaralliance.org). Accessed on November 10, 2008. This website is currently unavailable on the internet.

in the city. Some scholars argue that these middle class claims over public space are reflective of the increasing “politics of exclusion” and an “exclusionary form of citizenship” that renders sections of the urban poor invisible in the city (Falzon 2004; Fernandes 2004). To this effect, Falzon (2004:159-60) writes:

[T]he middle and upper classes tend to perceive the homeless, slum dwellers, beggars, “urchins,” and hawkers as undesirables who “encroach” on the city’s public spaces and make it difficult for the former to lead what they see as a decent, healthy, and safe life. For the elites, life in the city is a constant siege.

This “politics of exclusion” is rooted in modernist visions of aesthetics, order, and entrepreneurship that clash with the extreme poverty and squalor found in the megacities of the South. The following quote from one of the founding member of CitiSpace describes this clash of sensitivities. The respondent describes her initial reactions on returning to Mumbai after having spent 11 years in Singapore:

I moved to Bombay and felt my gosh! my gosh! my gosh! I mean wherever I looked, there was *chaos*! I remember the broad footpath in front of my house, J. Tata road was huge. I remember sea of people were using the pavement and going towards Churchgate station. That wasn’t happening. Road space management wasn’t happening, garbage galore, spit galore, urine and feces galore. And systems, there was huge break down of systems. Traffic was cut off from my arterial road, instead *morchas* (public demonstrations) were taking place there, *my* footpath was occupied by street vendors and people were walking on the road (emphasis added).⁹³

This middle-class politics in the city embodies a neoliberal governmentality based on an elite understanding of city-space, empowerment, citizenship, and human development. As seen in the activities of CitiSpace, the relationship between the self and space is mediated through a privileged notion of “quality of life” which has little regard to how the livelihoods of the urban poor are tied with public space in the city. Moreover, it ignores the appropriation of space by the encroachment of the rich. The notion of “empowerment” espoused by this middle-class politics

⁹³ Neera Punj, personal interview, July 15, 2009.

is based on a “civic governmentality,” which rests on a legalistic idea of rights that is exclusively based on rights of taxpayers and “law abiding citizens” (Roy 2009; Zérah 2007). In this context, one of CitiSpace’s key ideas of “empowerment” of citizens is to disseminate information on citizens’ rights through “user-friendly” booklets (NAGAR Newsletter March 2004). Finally, the middle class politics reduces human development to development of entrepreneurship and “upgrading” human capital. This rhetoric of entrepreneurship is seen in the “mainstreaming” of street vendors by enclosing them in municipal markets. The poverty of street vendors is explained through their lack of entrepreneurial skills. During an interview, a key member of CitiSpace expresses this idea in the following manner:

[We are] limiting the potential of the poor to be an entrepreneur and have the capacity to build personal capacity, business capacity and to use street vending as a means to go places. What I am saying is let’s be rational....By and large, 90 percent of the population wants to upgrade...And that is why I want them to be absorbed into the mainstream...Can you imagine, if they hand would they be able to demonstrate his entrepreneurship services? Oh! it would be an explosion.⁹⁴

This discourse is part of a wider process that Ananya Roy (2010) refers to as “democratization of capital” where development related to social services is transformed into development as integration into the financial markets. Thus democratization of capital is about the economic freedom of the poor and reconceptualizing the poor as financial consumers. This is achieved through a kind of “neoliberal populism” that blends free-market ideology and an interest in the poor to recast economic vulnerability into economic opportunity (Roy 2010: 188, 220).

The Shanghai Model: A New “Blue-print” of Development in India

Shanghaization is not merely a metropolitan imaginary, but is emerging as a national model of development in India. In 2005, India made a conscious shift in its macroeconomic policy toward urban centers by announcing the Rs 50,000 crore urban renewal scheme—the JNNURM

⁹⁴ Neera Punj, personal interview, July 15, 2009.

(Kennedy and Zerah 2007).⁹⁵ For some, it signaled the end of the earlier reformist Nehruvian attempts that tried to balance growth with distribution through public-sector investment and regulation of the private sector (Banerjee-Guha 2002; Harris 2008).⁹⁶ Financing of cities was linked to certain reforms in governance that would lead to increasing growth in an open economy. The federal cash transfers under the new scheme accompanied conditional reforms in the governance structure of the Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) and state governments. Rules related to urban development were altered. Important land regulations that provided protection against land concentration (such as the Urban Land Ceiling Act) were repealed. Municipal bodies were directed to revamp their fiscal mechanisms and enhance their revenues.

The main thrust of this emerging model of urban-led development is on real estate revitalization and development to spur economic growth, infrastructure and transport improvement designed primarily to encourage new private (foreign) investment and property development, and an export-led growth based on forcible land acquisitions and promotion of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) like China. With the introduction of the SEZ policy in 2005, as of 2012 there are 143 operational, 584 formally approved, and 45 in-principle approved SEZs in India.⁹⁷ Studies have shown that this developmental model has engendered widespread displacement and regional (urban-rural) and intra-regional (urban poor and the middle/upper classes) inequities (Aggarwal 2006; Gopalakrishnan 2007; Huang 2008a, 2008b; Krishna and Nederveen Pieterse 2008; Shrivastava 2008). The next chapter highlights such displacements caused by the urban projects in Mumbai that relate to infrastructure, slum redevelopment, and mill redevelopment, within the wider context of an emerging city-centric development in India.

⁹⁵ Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission.

⁹⁶ Jawaharlal Nehru was the first Prime Minister of India and the main architect of India's centrally planned quasi-socialist economy.

⁹⁷ See (<http://www.sezindia.nic.in/about-osi.asp>).

CHAPTER 5

TRANSFORMING MUMBAI: “THE VIOLENCE OF DEVELOPMENT”

~We urgently need new investment in world-class public infrastructure for our cities. We have to invest in public transport, in roads with space for bicycles and pedestrians, in sanitation, in public parks, in water bodies in airports, in railway stations, and many other amenities of modern life....I believe we should have a vision for our cities as hubs of economic activity where citizens from all walks of life can live and work without difficulty.⁹⁸

~Mumbai needs investment in urban renewal. Mumbai needs a world class airport. Mumbai needs better public transport. Mumbai must unlock the potential of its under-utilized assets, especially land.⁹⁹

~We built this slum out of a swamp. We paid a slumlord to fill it with soil. That was six years ago. Now they come and break it down. Nobody stopped us when we built it. We got our election cards and our food ration cards for a price. I have three children and a husband, who is a trishaw puller. They can't simply throw us out and take away our lives. We are Indians. We will squat here. (Biswas 2005)

It is found that “development-induced displacement” is a widespread and growing phenomenon. While there are numerous beneficiaries of development, the costs are often borne disproportionately by the poorest and marginalized populations (Robinson 2003:10). The World Bank has estimated that every year since 1990, about 10 million people worldwide have been displaced involuntarily by infrastructural development projects. In India alone, an estimated 25 million have been displaced by development projects in the last 50 years. In China, the figure for the same period is 40 million and almost 13.6 million people have been displaced in 1990s

⁹⁸ “PM lays foundation stone of phase-I of Mumbai Metro,” June 21, 2006. Retrieved May 15 2012 (<http://pmindia.nic.in/speech-details.php?nodeid=328>)

⁹⁹ Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh's address at the 16th Asian Corporate Conference, “Driving global business: India's new priorities, Asia's new realities,” March 18, 2006, Mumbai. Retrieved March 27, 2012 ([http://www.indianembassy.org/prdetail931/--%09--prime-minister-dr.-manmohan-singh%27s-address-at-the-16th-asian-corporate-conference-driving-global-business-%3A-india%27s-new-priorities,-asia%27s-new-realities\).](http://www.indianembassy.org/prdetail931/--%09--prime-minister-dr.-manmohan-singh%27s-address-at-the-16th-asian-corporate-conference-driving-global-business-%3A-india%27s-new-priorities,-asia%27s-new-realities).)

(Robinson 2003:3). People have even used the term “forced migration” to refer to cases where individuals or communities are “compelled, obliged, or induced to move when otherwise they would choose to stay put; the force involved may be direct, overt and focused, or indirect, covert, and diffuse” (ibid:5). Therefore, even voluntary movement may contain elements of coercion. . In the context of such “violence of development” Rajgopal (2001:A19) writes, “most large forced dislocations of people do not occur in conditions of armed conflict or genocide but in routine, everyday evictions to make way for development projects...Indeed this “development cleansing” may well constitute ethnic cleansing in disguise, as the people dislocated so often turn out to be from minority ethnic and racial communities.”

The three quotes at the beginning of the chapter highlight the competing visions related to Mumbai’s contemporary development. The first quote is an excerpt from a speech by the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Manmohan Singh, delivered on the occasion of laying the foundation stone for Phase I of the Mumbai Metro Rail Project. In the same speech he also stressed on the fact that urban centers in India must be seen as engines of growth and as spaces of “prosperity” and “progress.” He particularly singles out Mumbai as an embodiment of hope for a resurgent India and expressed that the city was in urgent need of investment to improve its infrastructure. The second quote from another speech highlights how “world class” infrastructure is considered as the antidote to Mumbai’s lagging growth and its aspiration to join to ranks of leading financial centers in the world. The focus on Mumbai’s urban renewal signals a shift in the overall development policy in India during the last decade culminating in one of the most ambitious programs in post-independent India—the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM).

Production of Space

In the context of contemporary urban transformation, Harvey (2005:3) makes a distinction between liberalism as a theory of political economy and “neoliberalization” as a process of a broader “creative destruction” of “prior institutional frameworks and powers, divisions of labor, social relations, welfare provisions, technological mixes, ways of life and thought, reproductive activities, attachment to land and habits of heart.” Transformation of urban space is integral in this process of neoliberalization. Acknowledging this fact, there has been a “spatial turn” in the analysis of contemporary globalization highlighted by terms such as “space-time compression” (Harvey 1989), “space of flows” (Castells 1989), and “scapes” (Appadurai 1990). Brenner (1999:42) argues that with the increasing interconnectedness of social relations on a global scale, space should not be understood as a “static platform of social relations,” but as “one of the constitutive elements of globalization, historically produced, reconfigured, and transformed.” In this context, contemporary globalization can be understood as the most recent historical expression of a *longue durée* dynamic of continual process of dispersal and concentration of capital. On the one hand, contemporary globalization is eliminating geographical barriers to capitalist accumulation, leading to dispersal of capital.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, this mobility of capital gets re-concentrated through the production of relative stable and immobile geographical landscapes such as the built environments, transportation infrastructure, production and business complexes, and communication networks. The “agglomerative effects” of large cities based on their concentration of large populations and infrastructure facilitates the clustering of economic activities. Therefore, these large cities become attractive to investors as they centralize factors such as good quality infrastructure, skilled labor, specialized producer services and markets, and less tangible goods such as creativity and innovation (Kennedy and Zerah 2008).

¹⁰⁰ This is what David Harvey (1989) refers to as “space-time compression.”

In Brenner's words, "social space operates at once as a presupposition, medium, and outcome of capitalism's globalizing developmental dynamic...[and is] continually constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed through historically specific, multi-scalar dialectic of de- and re-territorialization" (2009:43).

In order to promote this geographical re-concentration of capital, national and local governments have introduced new strategies of urban development and regulations. Through this processes of "re-regulation," states promote globalization and create favorable investment environments. The competitive climate of globalization within which cities compete for foreign capital has led to devolution of state power to regional and urban scales, seen in large-scale infrastructure projects or entrepreneurial initiatives such as public-private partnerships. In the megacities of the South this has taken the form of reservation of business districts, creation of new enterprise spaces or Special Economic Zones (SEZs), or high-premium infrastructure (Kennedy and Zerah 2008).

Emerging City-centered Development in India

Mumbai's contemporary transformation has to be understood in a broader of context of a policy shift in India toward city-centered growth strategies (Kennedy and Zerah 2008). The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 introduced a series of reforms related to political decentralization in India. The act provided the framework for democratic and participatory planning process at the local level. Several areas of identified for decentralized planning and devolution of power including economic and social development, regulation of land use and construction of buildings, urban planning (including town planning and slum improvement and upgradation) (Sengupta 2006). Liberalization reforms in the 1990s further reinforced the economic role of cities. Notions such as "urban productivity" and "efficiency" became the center

piece of urban development policy. However, the foundation for these changes was laid with the establishment of the National Commission on Urbanization in 1985, which probably for the first time recognized the role played by cities in economic development, particular large cities such as Mumbai. Led by the priority of economic development, the commission introduced the criterion of efficiency in the provision of urban services. These entrepreneurial visions were crystallized more clearly in the Rakesh Mohan Committee Report on infrastructure, 1996 which called for more market-oriented reforms. The main focus of the committee was on “commercialization of infrastructure” through public-private partnerships, commodification of urban services, local financing through municipal bonds and domestic financial markets. This report is considered as a key report in the history of urban development policy in India as it introduced a set of new ideas related to urban policy and infrastructure development influenced by international “best practices” (Kennedy and Zérah 2008).

The above urban policy reforms culminated in 2005 with the introduction of the JNNURM. The JNNURM continues with the “cities for growth” agenda by focusing on upgrading infrastructure of Indian cities to enhance their productivity. The main mission of JNNURM is “to encourage reforms and fast track planned development of identified cities....efficiency in urban infrastructure and service delivery mechanisms, community participation, and accountability of ULBs/Parastatal agencies towards citizens (Government of India N.d.). The JNNURM effectively links infrastructure financing and governance reforms by imposing certain conditionalities for central government funds which include mandatory reforms in rules and regulations of urban local bodies and state governments such as repealing land regulations, modernizing municipalities, enhancing revenues and fiscal responsibility (Kennedy and Zérah 2008).

It is also argued that the JNNURM strategy was also influenced by the events in Mumbai, especially the “Vision Mumbai” strategy (or Shanghaization of Mumbai) introduced by political and business elite in the city during 2003-2005. This point is acknowledged by the head of the Mumbai Transformation Support Unit—a World Bank-led initiative set up in 2005, immediately after the introduction of “Vision Mumbai” report:

In a way JNNURM was also conceived as an outcome of what was going on in Mumbai. So the Central government also saw that after this kind of study that cities are lacking in basic infrastructure which is required. So that perhaps led to the central government coming up with the comprehensive scheme of the JNNURM, which helped in us in taking up a few major projects in Mumbai.¹⁰¹

Transforming Mumbai: Projects and Displacements

As discussed in the earlier chapter, Mumbai’s current transformation is taking place in a transformed political, economic, and institutional context characterized by: increasing involvement of the market and non-governmental actors in planning and implementation and a decentralization of political authority to local (urban) level, and deindustrialization of the city-core. In this context, I will analyze the important projects that are currently underway in Mumbai that potentially intensify the existing socio-spatial inequalities in the city. These projects relate to infrastructure development, slum redevelopment, and mill-land redevelopment.

Infrastructure development

An important component of the Mumbai transformation agenda is upgrading city’s infrastructure. Since 2002, there are two large-scale transportation projects that are currently underway in Mumbai—the Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP) and the Mumbai Urban Infrastructure Project (MUIP). The World-Bank funded MUTP aims to improve the transport infrastructure and services in Mumbai, primarily the suburban railway system which is found to

¹⁰¹ U. P. S. Madan, personal interview December 11, 2009.

be over-utilized beyond its maximum capacity.¹⁰² The total estimated cost of the project is about \$1000 USD out of which 45 per cent of the total cost (\$477 million USD) is to be borne by the World Bank. The objective of the 600 million USD MUIP is to augment the MUTP by improving the road networks and traffic dispersal in the city. The project is funded by MMRDA and envisages construction or improvement of over 450 km of road network during the next five years.¹⁰³

However, the implementation of such projects is a challenging task, considering that it involves displacement of the urban poor, especially slum dwellers. It is estimated that since 2004 311,000 families have been displaced or are potentially going to be displaced by various development projects in Mumbai (See Table 1). The resettlement of displaced people in Mumbai has been patchy. One of the most cited internationally-acclaimed successful “people-managed” resettlement story is the resettlement of 60,000 slum dwellers for the improvement of the rail network in 1997-98. This resettlement was mediated by non-governmental organizations such as SPARC and the National Slum Dwellers’ Federation (NSDF) (Patel, d’Cruz, and Burra 2002). However, by and large, the problem of resettling the displaced urban poor has been especially difficult considering that a substantially large number of slum dwellers in Mumbai do not have proper titles to land and in addition to this there are thousands of small, medium, and large businesses that exist in those areas. Further, there is also a problem of finding suitable resettlement sites in a densely populated city like Mumbai. Moreover, there are also certain new challenges in managing post-resettlement issues related to provision of utilities and services to the new dwellings, people’s access to transportation, and transfer of funds and title deeds. Women are disproportionately disadvantaged as their new homes are further away from their

¹⁰² During peak hours an average nine-car carries around 4,500 passengers, way more than the maximum capacity of 1,500 (Patel, d’Cruz, and Burra 2002:160).

¹⁰³ MMRDA. Retrieved May 19, 2012 (http://202.54.119.40/projects_mutp.htm).

places of work and the burden of balancing household responsibilities has made it difficult for them to hold on to those earning opportunities (World Bank 2007).

Table 8. Development-induced Displacements in Mumbai¹⁰⁴			
	Name of the Project	Families Displaced	Period
1	Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP)	20,000	2000 onwards
2	Mumbai Urban Infrastructure Project (MUIP)	35,000	2004 onwards
3	Mumbai Makeover post-“Vision Mumbai”	70,000	December 2004
4	Mithi River Development Project (Phase I)	5,000	May 2006
5	Mahatma Gandhi Path Kranti Yojana	5,000	2007
6	Airport Expansion Project	90,000	Yet to be implemented
7	Dharavi Redevelopment Project	60,000	Yet to be implemented
8	Mumbai Metro	No data available	Yet to be implemented
9	BRIMSTOWD	20,000	2007
10	Slum Rehabilitation Scheme	No data available. However, 85,000 resettled till date (not included in the total)	
	Total	311,000	

The recently commenced Mumbai Metro Rail Project has the objective of providing rail-based mass transit connectivity to people within an approach distance of a half to one mile and to serve the areas that are not connected by existing Suburban Rail System. The total length of the Metro Rail is about 91 miles and the entire project is to be completed in three phases by 2021. The entire project cost is estimated to be about 3500 million USD. The phase I of the project began in 2006. For the phase II, involving a 20 mile corridor from Charkop-Bandra-Mankhurd, the government has proposed to construct a railcar depot (the most crucial part of the project).¹⁰⁵ For this depot, the government has proposed to acquire 140 acres of land in the Kandivali-

¹⁰⁴ I thank Simpreet Singh for providing the statistics.

¹⁰⁵ MMRDA. Retrieved May 19, 2012 (http://202.54.119.40/projects_metro_rail.htm)

Malwani area which includes 48 acres of old settlements of Laljipada, Janata colony, Sanjaynagar, Ektanagar, Azad compound, Gandhinagar, K.D. Compound among several others. This entire region houses over 20 to 25 thousand families, 200 small and medium size businesses, and educational institutions such as schools and Madrasas. In 2007, the state urban development ministry issued a circular announcing the phase II of the project. This circular did not mention the people who were going to be displaced as a result of the railcar depot. The government conveniently chose to ignore more than 150,000 people who have been living in this region since four decades. Laljipada, one of the main colonies with a population of about 15,000 was developed by the poor people who moved into the region. They not only filled up the wetlands and made the place hospitable, but also created self-employment by establishing small and medium scale industries in the region. The imitation jewelry business employing 70 per cent of the people in the region (out of which 15,000 to 20,000 are women) was established 30-40 years ago. Ornaments made in Laljipada are even exported overseas. Along with this, there are almost 8,000 people engaged in the plastic recycling industry, which recycles almost 94 tons of plastic every day! Almost 17,000 people, mostly women, are employed in the making of small-scale plastic products. There are also other small businesses such as scrap dealing, bakeries, bottle recycling and so on (NAPM N.d.).

Activists opposing the depot allege that there was no survey conducted to determine how many people were going to be resettled. According to activist H. M. Chandrashekhar, “the real motive of the MMRDA [the agency responsible to implement the project] is to evict the slums in the region and to sell the land to rich businessmen to cover the cost of the project.”¹⁰⁶ The area seems to command a high price as it is closer to the main arterial roads. The activists also oppose

¹⁰⁶ This is an excerpt from a talk delivered at the “National Strategy Meet on Metrorail Projects,” organized by the Ghar-Bachao, Ghar-Banao Andolan on 27-28 June, 2009.

the resettlement plans and demand that the depot should not be constructed over their land. They are well aware of the fact that earlier attempts of resettling people in high-rise apartments have increased costs, destroyed businesses, and disrupted stable communities. The following quote expresses the popular sentiment of the people affected by this project: “Did we build this land with our own hands only to be given away to those who want to profit from it, while our own lives are destroyed?” (NAPM N.d.:7).

Objections have also been raised regarding the disproportionate environmental and monetary costs involved in the Metro Rail project compared to its actual benefits. Experts from the Indian Institute of Technology have estimated that the 3500 million USD project would result in the environmental costs of over 11,000 million USD. Moreover, they argue that there are cheaper and less environmentally destructive alternatives available to solve Mumbai’s transportation problems. According to Sudhir Badami, a noted transportation expert, Mumbai’s current load of transport is 350,000 people per hour, an overload of almost 150-170 per cent. He further argues that although the Metro Rail Project designed to augment city’s public transportation system, it will only generate 72 per cent of the additional required capacity over a span of 16-20 years. Whereas, with a total cost of 1281 million USD (much lower than the Metro Rail) and in much less time of five years alternative transport strategies such as the Bus Rapid Transit System and Sky Bus can generate 65 per cent more than the additional required capacity of commuters.¹⁰⁷

Another controversial infrastructure project that was recently carried out is the iconic Rajiv Gandhi (Bandra-Worli) Sea Link connecting the western suburbs with the island city (see Figure 5). The Sea Link was opened to the public on June 29, 2009 with a lot of fanfare with

¹⁰⁷ Sudhir Badami, “Transport, Health, Environment, and Equity in Indian cities.” Presentation at a workshop organized by McGill University and TRIPP-IIT Delhi, December 17-19, 2007.

displays of fireworks, light and laser show coupled with music and all the local newspapers carried particular details marveling the massive feat of construction. For example, the bridge weighted 670,000 tons equivalent to 50,000 African elephants; it used 23413 miles of steel wire equivalent to the earth's circumference; and that "Hercules," one of the largest water cranes in the world had to be imported from Singapore to ensure that the bridge was completed before the monsoons arrived.¹⁰⁸



Figure 5. Rajiv Gandhi (Bandra-Worli) Sea Link. In recent times, this has become Mumbai's iconic landmark.

Source: Mumbai State Road Development Corporation Ltd.

Nearly 300 million USD were spent to construct the 2.9 mile long sea bridge with the aim of reducing peak travel time between Bandra and Worli from 35-38 minutes to 7 minutes. However, it was found that if one takes into account the time taken at the approach roads (due to

¹⁰⁸ Chittaranjan Tembhekar and Ashely D'mello, "Bandra-Worli sea link opens midnight." *Times of India*, June 30, 2009, p.4.

diversions, curves, and reduced speed limits) leading to the Sea Link at both the ends the total journey took 25 minutes, effectively saving only 10 minutes. In this context, the question raised is whether it was worth spending close to 300 million USD to save 10 minutes of travel time.¹⁰⁹ The more important question is whether the Sea Link was necessary in the first place and to whom did it cater to considering the expensive toll. Further, the discussion on the Sea Link opens up an entirely different discussion on the question of temporality and how value is attached to time, especially of motorized elite for whom the Sea Link offered a privileged view as highlighted by this quote: “Look out from your car window and you can see the beautiful high rises and the sea on either side, making you feel as if you were on a cruise”¹¹⁰

For those who are at the helm of urban transform in Mumbai there seems to be a taken-for-granted approach toward urban infrastructure that displaces politics of the poor. One of the most effective rhetorical tools used to justify transformation in Mumbai is that of the reason that privileges the notions of effectiveness and efficiency over politics and politics is seen as an aversion, as an impediment to growth. In the area of urban governance, idea of efficiency, finance, and pragmatism takes precedence over representativeness. The following quote, from an interview with a senior-level bureaucrat heading the key agency that deliberates on urban transformation in Mumbai, is instructive of the kind of change that I discussed above:

Political issues are of course important. They are more relevant in policy work. Not in project based work. So there may not be much politics involved in whether you want to have a metro here or monorail here or a highway going in a particular area.”¹¹¹

Here the idea of politics is rendered as a deliberative process of policy making, where as implementation is devoid of politics and it is mostly a technicality. The above bureaucrat talks about the monorail as being non-problematic, but as discussed above the situation on the ground

¹⁰⁹ Chittaranjan Tembhekar, “Pay Rs 50 to save 10 mins?” *Times of India*, June 23, 2009, p.2.

¹¹⁰ Rahul Khilnani, “Zip zap zoom.” *Times of India*, June 30, 2009, p.9.

¹¹¹ U. P. S. Madan, personal interview, December 11, 2009.

is very different where there is widespread displacement which is contested by the poor. Further, the process of building political consensus is reduced to financial viability and efficiency. The same bureaucrat explains:

Political will is also developed if the rest of the logistics in place like finance etc. In a democratic set up political will is important too, but if you have adequate funds at your command, it may take less time to get the will implemented. I mean if you have money in your pocket and if you want to buy something, the will is there or otherwise you may think twice. Something else may take priority over what you want to do.”¹¹²

Slum redevelopment

There exists in Mumbai a hierarchical nature of housing options available to its citizens that range from pavement dwellings, *zopadpattis* (informal squatter settlements), *chawls* (factory-owned low-income rental tenements), owned or rented flats, and expensive flats or apartments owned by the rich and the super rich (Appadurai 2000; Risbud 2003). According to some sources, about 50 per cent of Mumbai’s 12 million citizens live in slums or *zopadpattys* or other inferior form of housing (10 per cent are said to pavement dwellers). However, slum dwellers occupy only about 8 per cent of city space, which is around 43,000 hectares.¹¹³

The answer to why there are so many people living in slums in Mumbai partly lies in the absence of legal housing for the poor. The supply of formal housing has been far below the need. The annual deficit of housing kept on increasing from the mid-50s until early 1990s (see table 9). Further, considering the cost of formal housing, it is affordable only to the top 6.25 per cent of households in Mumbai. Moreover, the private housing sector does not cater to the poor and as a result 53 per cent of the poor or almost 45,000 households have to rely on informal housing. Maharashtra Housing and Development Authority (MHADA) established in 1977 to provide housing to low and middle income groups in Maharashtra has constructed 33,890 units for the

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Figures cited in Appadurai (2000:646).

economically weaker sections and 19,184 units under the slum clearance scheme in the state. However, since its inception until 1995, MHADA did not construct a single unit for the economically weaker sections in Mumbai. Frequently cited reasons for non-construction of adequate houses in Mumbai have been lack of availability of funds and space (Indian People's Tribunal 2005).

Table 9. Ratio of Average Annual Supply of Housing in Metropolitan Mumbai			
Period	Annual Need	Total Supply	Deficit
1956-66	46,000	17,572	28,428
1973-82	60,000	19,626	40,374
1984-91	85,000	47,417	37,583

Source: Indian People's Tribunal (2005:50)

The current slum development policy in Mumbai is a variant of its earlier Slum Redevelopment (SRD) announced in 1991. As early as 1980s, it was suggested to the state government that private participation in slum development should be encouraged. In 1991, the state government accepted this proposal and deviated from its earlier pattern of public sector involvement in slum redevelopment (Risbud 2003). Later, in 1995, a new scheme was introduced called Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) based on public-private partnership. On paper, this plan appears to be democratic based on community participation in the rehabilitation program and seeking private builders to implement plans. However, in reality, the private builders use their economic power to influence the resettlement plans. The “private” participation in this process is not just limited to builders, but other non-state actors such as NGOs like Society for the Preservation of Area Resources Centers (SPARC) have begun to play an active mediatory role in the settlement process. This kind of network between slum dwellers, SRA, private builders, and the intermediary NGOs has led to “institutional pluralism” in the housing delivery

system which has often lead to conflicts between different stakeholders (Sanyal and Mukhija 2001).

The *Vision Mumbai* report (2003) mentions that to put Mumbai on the course of development, the city has to free-up land by 50-70 per cent. Following this report, in 2004-2005 the state government through its battery of officials demolished 94,000 homes at 44 sites, “freeing-up” 288.80 acres of land. This was described as “Operation Shanghai” in the daily newspapers (Mahadevia and Narayan 2005:16). This incessant drive to free-up land “encroached” by illegal slums has introduced new legalities, technologies, and agencies to dissuade development of slums. It ranges from issuing photo-cards for slum dwellers to controlling urban space with cameras and “flying squads.” The Citizens Action Group (CAG), univocally endorsed these violent demolitions (Mahadevia 2008b).

Table 10. Slum Demolitions in Mumbai	
Year of Demolition	Number of Slum Households Demolished
1994	55,784
1995	62,385
1996	84,681
1997	108,322
1998	49,154
2004-2005	94,000
Total	454,326

Source: Singh (N.d.)

One of the most important slum redevelopment project in Mumbai today is the development of 360 acres of Dharavi—Asia’s largest slum, which has also been proposed in the GOM Report (2004). Because of its proximity to the emerging business center at Bandra-Kurla Complex and its easy access to the airport, this is one of the most sought after pieces of real estate in Mumbai. Recently, the Dharavi redevelopment has attracted big national and

international real estate companies from the US, Kuwait, Hong Kong and Dubai.¹¹⁴ However, the project is mired in controversy and there is a strong opposition against it from certain local communities.

Mill redevelopment

With the growth of the textile industry in Bombay since the mid-nineteenth century there developed a unique textile mill district called *Girangaon*, “village of mills,” in the central parts of the city (Chandavarkar 1994). This area includes the mills as well the *chawls* or rented low-income tenements owned by the mill-owners. However, immediately after the textile strike in 1982-83 most mills were shut-down, retrenching more than 100,000 workers. Today there are 58 functional mills—33 privately owned, one owned by the state government, and 25 managed by the central government. Due to rise in the real estate prices from late 1980s to early 1990s, the “vacant” Mill lands came to be viewed as the most valued land for redevelopment. The combined value of the 600 acres of the Mill lands in the 1990s was estimated to be around Rs 50 billion (Paul, Shetty, and Krishnan 2005: 399). The Development Control (DC) Rules of 1991 that deal with Mill lands were amended to enable the sale or modernization of Mill lands. As per the new rules some of the excess Mill lands could be redeveloped and a part of the profits accrued from the redevelopment was to be invested in the revival of the mill and a part was to be used to generate employment for the workers. Those parts of the Mills that were unviable for development were to be distributed in three parts: one third for low-income housing, one-third civic amenities, and one third for development by the mill-owner. In practice, however, the mill owners have managed to exploit certain loopholes in the law to redevelop or sell the Mill land (Lokshahi Hakk Sanghatana Report 1996). Some of the mills have been converted to up-scale malls such as the Phoenix Mall in Lower Parel. This transformation from Mills to Malls in very

¹¹⁴ See “Dharavi redevelopment: Five foreign players throw hat in the ring.” *Times of India*. June 28, 2007.

poignantly described in one of the studies on the Phoenix Mill as shown by the quote following the photograph below:



Figure 6. High Street Phoenix Mall. This mall was actually a former textile mill. The owners consciously chose to preserve certain parts of the mill (see the tower) to accentuate its historical past. This mall has been consistently listed as one of the top three malls in Mumbai.

Source: Thirani (2011)

When today one enters the Phoenix Mills, it has a ghost-like character — walking through the gates in the evening, the massive buildings that form the compound with their graceful Gothic architecture, their interiors wear a deserted appearance. Piles of wood, bricks, cement and mortar sit in dusty piles within the various departments of the old mill, stripped of their former purpose, their previous occupants banished, and their machinery removed to sale or scrap. At the back of the compound, only the winding department continues to hum with productive activity, while a stone's throw away the Fire and Ice Disco thumps with dance music. The chimney of the mill towers above disco, awaiting the day when, in a gesture of cynical irony, the owners of the Bowling Company propose to repaint it to look like a bowling pin. Amidst the rubble and dust of the deserted premises of the spinning and weaving sections of the mill, where only a year ago cloth was being processed and sent to market, Marutis [a popular Indian car] and Mercedes are

parked, and the buzz of mobile phones is heard. Industrial activity has given way to leisure and entertainment, though this change appears like a forcible occupation by an invading army, who care little for the legal and democratic rights of the people they have displaced. Indeed if they even know of them, which they probably don't (Krishnan 2000:9).

Along with the DC Rules, Mill land sale was also subject to guidelines of Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (ULCRA) which set limits on the development of surplus Mill land.

However, in 2011, this legislation was scrapped in Maharashtra due to a sustained campaign from developers who argued that it would free up 25,000 hectares of land which could attract foreign investors. The scrapping of ULCRA is bound to lead to increasing speculation in the real estate market in Mumbai. A recent article highlights that Mumbai has become the "world's second-most expensive market for office space after London's West End and the third-fastest growing such market...rentals in places like Nariman Point, a business district in south Mumbai, have jumped 55 percent from a year earlier to 189.51 USD per square foot a year."¹¹⁵

The dislocations caused by the elitist visions and practices of transformation in Mumbai has led to widespread discontent within the poor and laboring classes and sections of them have organized to resist these changes. Interestingly, the new context of redevelopment has also emboldened support for conservative forces in the city to rekindle nativistic assertions. In the next chapter, I describe some of these contestations and the alternative visions of urban development they generate.

¹¹⁵ Krittivas Mukherjee and Devidutta Tripathy. 2007. Maharashtra scraps land law, property prices rise. November 29. *Reuters*, India. Retrieved on March 9, 2011 (<http://in.reuters.com/article/2007/11/29/idINIndia-30749620071129>).

CHAPTER 6

WHOSE CITY IS IT? MUMBAI: A CONTESTED CITY

~In understanding Mumbai's transformation, it is important to focus on questions such as the increasing privatization of health and education. However, the most important question today is—Whose Mumbai is it? Does Mumbai belong to the workers and the middle classes who built this city, or does it belong to the capitalists, builders, Mafia, and the politicians who serve their interests?¹¹⁶

~We should all be aware in our hearts and minds: Where is our share? What is our place in this city of Mumbai which is sustained by our efforts? What is our “right to this city” which is built on our labor? Is this question on everybody's mind?¹¹⁷

~This is a people's movement for inclusive growth and that is all they are fighting for (Medha Patkar).¹¹⁸

The ideological and contested nature of urbanism is becoming a key issue in the South as policies gravitate toward maintaining high-growth. Globally inspired restructuring projects are always contextually embedded within “inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles” (Brenner and Theodore 2002:350). Therefore, there is always a disjuncture between the ideology of (neoliberal) growth and its everyday functioning and influence as the process of incorporation of global forces is a contested one, generating possibilities of alternative claim-making and citizenship (Sassen 2000b).

In the urban context, Castells' (1983) argues that urban social movements arise as a result of “urban contradictions” related to production, distribution, and management of collective consumption of goods and services. Such urban contradictions marginalize the urban poor who

¹¹⁶ Translated from *Mumbai te Shanghai* (Mumbai to Shanghai). N.d. Girni Kamgar Sangharsh Samiti, Mumbai, p.3.

¹¹⁷ Excerpt from Medha Patkar's speech from the film *Road to Shanghai (Via Mumbai)*. Retrieved on May 26, 2011 (<http://www.cultureunplugged.com/documentary/watch-online/festival/play/4469/Road-to-Shanghai--Via-Mumbai>).

¹¹⁸ Yogesh Pawar, “Adulation has not come easy.” *DNA*, October 25, 2010. Retrieved May 26, 2011 (http://www.dnaindia.com/mumbai/report_adulation-has-not-come-easy-for-medha-patkar_1457498).

are often the targets of urban policies. Urban contradictions enable new or renewed forms of contestations, exerting considerable constraints on the state power. Therefore, the production of space is not a result of a unilateral impact of global economic forces on the urban environment, but is a contested and negotiated process in which social movements subvert or challenge the hegemonic processes. In the context of inclusive growth, the state has to maintain a fine balance between facilitating rapid growth and meeting the demands of the urban poor affected by various urban redevelopment projects.

I have described Mumbai's growth contradictions elsewhere using the term "globalizing marginality" (Ghadge 2010). By this I refer to the Janus-faced nature of urbanism, whereby, "on the one hand, the globalizing impulse of the new world economy has subjected the city to new strategies of urban development and regulations; while on the other hand, this very process of globalizing caters exclusively to certain key economic sectors and elites, marginalizing most of the population" (Ghadge 2010:72). Emerging urban growth strategies have engendered a new form of politics. These urban conflicts are not confined to the state alone. The marginalizing nature of urbanism in Mumbai has also led to contestations *within* the civil society between the urban poor and the middle classes. In the remaining part of this chapter, I first discuss three emerging contestations of the urban poor based on three poor peoples' movements in Mumbai that I have studied involving the slum dwellers, street vendors, and former industrial workers who are impacted by various restructuring projects in the city. Later, I also engage with other forms of contestations in the city that may not necessarily emerge out of the neoliberal growth strategies, but nonetheless generate alternative claims of representation and citizenship in the city are in apparent contradiction of the Shangaization strategy.

For the sake of clarity and comparison, I summarize in Table 10 the three forms of contestations (that I subsequently discuss) based on Tilly's model of social movements that involves three essential elements: campaigns, repertoire, and WUNC displays (worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment).¹¹⁹

Table 11. Poor People's Movements in Mumbai			
Actors/Movements	Campaigns	Repertoire	WUNC Displays
NAPM/GBGB Andolan	-Claims: housing, alternative development -Claimants: slum dwellers -Objects of Claims: builders, politicians, state -Public: urban poor, migrants, urban middle classes	Direct action Rallies Demonstrations Coalitions building Filing court cases Right to information	W: honest, hard-working production citizens U: Revolutionary songs, poem, speeches C: Resisting repression, ostentatious sacrifice
Girni Kamgaar Sangharsh Samiti	-Claims: housing, space, identity -Claimants: former textile mill workers -Object of claims: government, textile mill owners -Public: working class people, urban poor	Rallies Petitions Filing court cases Coalition building	W: "builders of the city," working class pride U: common working class history C: long drawn struggles
Street Vendors' Organizations	-Claims: right to space and livelihoods, regularization -Claimants: urban poor, informal workers -Object of claims: government, middle-class civic groups -Public: urban poor, working classes	Petitioning Filing court cases Lobbying with national-level organizations Transnational linkages	W: provide basic services, hard work U: preserving livelihoods C: clean food and space

¹¹⁹ According to Tilly (2004), *campaigns* are organized, sustained, collective claims involving three parties: the group of claimants, objects of claims, and a public of some kind; *social movement repertoire* are the forms of political action employed by participants; and *WUNC displays* are public representations of the participants that important in conveying various political messages to the public.

Politics of the Urban Poor

The rights-based struggle for housing in Mumbai

Immediately after the publication of the *Vision Mumbai* report, between November 2004 and March 2005 (in what is referred to as “Operation Shanghai” in the local newspapers), 90,000 homes of slum dwellers were demolished at 44 sites across the city and an estimated 450,000 slum dwellers were evicted, “freeing-up” 288.8 acres of land (IPT 2005; Mahadevia and Narayan 2005). The nature of evictions was so brutal that it invited terms such as the “Indian Tsunami” and in the first 18 days itself around 39,000 homes were demolished (IPT 2005; Roy 2009a). One of the officers in-charge of the demolitions was even quoted as that it was time to turn Mumbai into the “next Shanghai” and for that to happen “we want to put the fear of the consequences of migration into these people. We have to restrain them from coming to Mumbai” (Biswas 2005). According to a survey conducted by the NGO YUVA (Youth for Voluntary Action and Unity), almost 9.63 billion USD were spent on carrying out these demolitions. In the 28 slums surveyed by YUVA there were 375 police and municipal vans, 2996 police personnel and 87 bulldozers were utilized for the demolitions (Indian People’s Tribunal 2005:28). One of the residents of Ambujwadi, which was one of the first settlements that was demolished (see Figure 4), expresses the unprecedented brutality of these demolitions in the following manner:

This demolition is almost like the end. Everything is in complete chaos. In my presence, there has been demolition 5-6 times. But there is no precedence to this demolition. Earlier despite demolition, we managed to stay, but this time we are not even allowed to stay after demolition. If we request to stay, we are tortured...Not a single house is left. (IPT 2004)

The demolitions propelled the emergence of a housing rights movement in the city. In the aftermath of the demolitions, the slum dwellers came together under a coalition called *Zopadpatti Bachao Samyukta Kruti Samiti* or Joint Action Committee to Save the Slum

Dwellers, under the leadership of noted activist Medha Patkar of the NAPM (Weinstein and Ren 2009; Mahadevia and Narayan 2005). The struggle later assumed a new name in the Mumbai context called *Ghar Bachao Ghar Banao Andolan* [GBGB] (Movement to Save and Build Homes).).¹²⁰



Figure 7. Ambujwadi Slum in Malad, Mumbai. Consisting of about 1600 homes, it was one of the first sites that were demolished during the 2004-2005 demolitions in Mumbai. However, its residents organized to reclaim the area a few months later.
Source: Author (2009).

It is argued that this was the first time that “hitherto ‘private’ and individual struggles of [poor] citizens entered the public domain” when evictees in different parts of the city joined hands in demanding security of tenure (Bhide 2009). At the time of the demolitions Medha Patkar was

¹²⁰ The National Alliance of People’s Movements (NAPM) is an alliance of over two hundred people’s organizations and movements in India which began in 1992. The NAPM describes itself as “an alliance of progressive people’s organizations and movements, who while retaining their autonomous identities, are working together to bring the struggle for primacy of rights of communities over natural resources, conservation and governance, decentralized democratic development and towards a just, sustainable and egalitarian society in the true spirit of globalism.” For more information, visit their website (<http://napm-india.org/>). In the following sections, I will mention the NAPM if I am referring to the broader national level movement and NAPM/GBGB when referring to its Mumbai specific activities.

busy attending to Tsunami victims in South of India. However, the enormity of the displacements propelled her to move to Mumbai and join the struggle. In mid-December 2004, there was a large rally held at the Azad Maidan which was attended by thousands of people. Bolstered by this there were street demonstrations in February 2005 and following this the protestors also demonstrated in front of state government headquarters. Their immediate demand to the Congress party led state government was to put a halt to the demolitions and to live up to their election promise of regularizing all slum residents who could prove that they lived in the region before 2000. Simultaneously, they also tried to resist evictions and also reclaimed some of the evicted spaces and started to rebuild their houses. Pressured by the national leadership of Congress, the state government finally put a halt to the demolitions in February 2005.



Figure 8. An NAPM rally on the eve of International Women's Day
Source: Author (2009).

It has been argued that this new social movement in Mumbai characterized by NAPM/GBGB departed radically from the “populist mediation” strategies of prominent “government-friendly” network of organizations that include the Society for the Promotion of Area Resources (SPARC), the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF), and Mahila Milan, a network of women’s groups (Roy 2009a:161). Roy (2009) refers to this process of mediation between the government and various social movements and the representatives of the urban poor as “civic governmentality” which produces “governable spaces and governable subjects” (ibid:163). As a result of their proximity with the state apparatus these organizations, along with other NGOs, are viewed with suspicion by poor peoples’ movements such as NAPM. Organizations such as the SPARC avoid a confrontational positioning vis-à-vis the state and insisting more on collaboration. Because of this organizations such as SPARC are unable to wrest control of urban planning and development from the state (McFarlane 2004). Sections of the urban poor, therefore, are becoming critical of this dialogue-based politics of SPARC that may have proved successful to resettling people, but have limited impact on issues of livelihood. More often than not the resettlement sites are away from places where these poor people work (Roy 2009a:172-3). This “politics of compensation” according to Roy (2009:173), “produces an entrepreneurial subjectivity...a subjectivity steeped in the morality of collaboration, participation and mediation. To protest, to confront, is to stand outside the parameters of citizenship.”

This NAPM/GBGB rejected this strategy of “negotiated development” and framed Shangaization of Mumbai primarily as an issue of right—of the urban and rural poor’s “right over urban space” (Patkar and Athalya 2005). This approach of politics challenges SPARC’s “institutionalized inclusion” through an assertive “right to the city” (Roy 2009a:176). An

interview with an NAPM/GBGB activist illustrates this new rights-based approach to housing in Mumbai:

But today if you are living here and if this basti exists then I have the right to live here.....[A]s per the Human Rights Commission, everybody has the right to earn their food, clothes, and home anywhere in this country. We are the citizens of this country. We work in this city, earn a respectable living, we work hard and you get your jobs and salaries from the taxes we pay. So you have to grant us our rights.¹²¹



Figure 9. Medha Patkar addressing a NAPM rally.

Source: Author (2009).

Translation of the posters: Top left-“Our struggle is against violence and exploitation”
Top center: “What is the labor of the poor? What is their right?
See for yourself”
Top right: “Save Homes, Build Home”
Middle: “Mumbai is not the property of builders. It is ours”

¹²¹ Personal interview, June 19, 2009.

This rights-based approach to housing is predicated not only in terms of constitutional rights, but also on a sense of fairness that emerges from the contribution of the poor to the city's elite and the economy. The same respondent highlights:

Mumbai is not such a good place to live and you are dreaming of transforming it into Shanghai. But the ones who made Mumbai, who build it, are living lives worse than dogs. In this slum, there is one carpenter, there is this person who makes auto body parts, there is a driver, and they provide service to us. If there is no carpenter we would not have furniture, if he was not there the houses would not be built. If there is no driver your vehicles won't run. Without the mechanic, the vehicle would not be repaired. And these people lead a life of slavery. Those who make Mumbai run, themselves cannot even walk well and they want to make a Shanghai out of it?¹²²

This assertive approach also often leads to a more confrontational position vis-à-vis the state and mistrust for the electoral process, which is viewed as a means of cooptation, although the NAPM does organize public hearings before elections to educate and encourage slum dwellers to vote. A part of this mistrust for the electoral process stems from the realization of inadequacy of electoral politics to bring about any structural transformation. Medha Patkar lays out NAPM's broader vision of alternative politics in an interview in a recent talk show in which she states:

What is politics? Is it only electoral politics? The sphere of electoral politics is too limited. Politics means changing the relations between the state and society and bringing about a desired transformation. It is about resolving the conflict between the state and its people. And that is what we are doing. Real politics is going beyond the limited politics of votes and notes. It does not mean that people from the movement should not enter electoral politics, but there is a need to empower the politics engendered by the peoples' movements which is a kind of alternative politics.¹²³

However, there were some dissident voices regarding the notion of politics that emerged when I interview some other activists associated with the movement. Some of these activists contested the 2009 Maharashtra state assembly elections as independent candidates. These activists were

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ *Khupte tithe Gupte*, Episode telecast on March 11, 2011 Episode, Available at (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kHrwI8U6aIk>).

particularly critical of the movement's stance toward electoral politics. One such activist who had lost the elections was particularly vocal about the futility of movements in influencing government's decisions from being outside of the establishment. According to him, unless there was a visible "political threat" to the entrenched political candidates nothing was going to change. In this regard, he was very critical of the manner in which electoral candidates were supported by the movement. In his interview he mentioned to me that independent candidates like him who have been part of the movement did not stand any chance to win when voting in slums is encouraged on party-lines, guided with the sole objective of keeping communal parties such as the BJP out of power. He vents out his frustration in the following manner:

They ask you to vote for the same candidates who tore down your house. Then why would anyone listen to you? For five years you struggle for you houses and at the end of five years you ask people to vote for the same people...It does not matter who wins or loses. But at least don't snatch away the right to vote of the person who has lost his home. Let the person vote as he/she pleases. If you keep voting for the same party and people, they know these people are helpless and no matter they will vote for us. You do not have a conscience.¹²⁴

This issue of elections also came up in NAPM's 7th Biennial Convention at Kushinagar, Uttar Pradesh in 2008. In one of the sessions on "alternative politics" a central issue that was raised was "whether [NAPM's] struggle is sufficient to create an alternative politics or an alternative social system" or if there was a need for any efforts. In this regard, the issue contesting for elections was raised. The key debate was whether contesting for elections enlarged the influence of the movement or did it reduce its effectiveness. On the one hand, people argued for a value-based politics and opined that the Alliance had no role in the corrupt political process. Further, it was also observed that mainstream politics has proved to be incapable of solving the problems of the masses therefore, there was a need for people's movements. On the other hand, some felt that

¹²⁴ Personal interview, November 25, 2009.

the political revolution was part of the social revolution and that a part of the Alliance must accept the challenge of electoral politics and built constituencies, while the other should continue their struggle for a social revolution.¹²⁵

On the social front, the movement is routinely involved in implementing programs administered under several government social service schemes such as *jeevan shalas* (life schools), *anganwadis* (courtyard shelters) and *balwadis* (play schools). It has also engaged in the self-provisioning of housing and livelihoods through the *Ghar Bachao, Ghar Banao Andolan* (Movement to Save and Build Homes).

The activists of the NAPM/GBGB have displayed several repertoires of protest such as, political lobbying, public interest litigations, demanding information under the right to information act (RTI), street rallies, demonstrations, and direct non-violent action. The activists of the NAPM are careful to differentiate themselves from the “new” social movements of the 1960s (they use the term “poor peoples’ movement”) and the “NGO politics,” which they find to be corrupt and co-opted by the state and market forces. Some of the key discourses of the NAPM/GBGB revolve around the notions of “illegality,” “encroachment,” “ghettoization” (displacement and relocation of the urban poor outside the city through what one activist referred to as “manufacturing slums”), and “elite cosmopolitanism.” In its critique of the popular terms such as the above which are routinely used against the poor, the movement cleverly employs a strategy of what I like to call a “strategy of discursive inversion,” whereby activists counter these labels by inverting their meaning in the context of the elite subversive (illegal and encroaching) activities of the rich. A quote by an activist in relation to “encroachment” by the elites in the city will illustrate this strategy:

¹²⁵ NAPM, 7th Biennial Convention of NAPM: A Report, Mumbai, 2008.

Take the case of Hiranandani (one of the city's richest builders). He bought the land for 40 rupees an acre and is also obligated to provide low-income housing to people...In Mumbai Central there is a 60 floor building being constructed encroaching on a public road. How can that [building] be constructed on the roads? Why does the road always go through poor peoples' houses?¹²⁶



Figure 10. The Atria Millennium Mall in Worli, Mumbai. It is alleged that the land for on which this mall is built was actually allocated for a low-income housing project, however the builder blatantly disregarding planning regulations built a high-class mall that now houses showrooms of Swarovski, Rolls Royce, and BMW and also a 4-D cinema theater and entertainment plaza.

Source: Author (2009).

However, to counter the popular meaning such as “encroachment” requires hard work. First, activists have to excavate strategic government information through the Right to Information Act (RTI) on irregularities or encroachments by the government and the rich on various issues such

¹²⁶Simpreet Singh, NAPM activist. Personal interview, July 4, 2008

land availability, resource utilization, and illegal land deals. Second, this information then has to be disseminated through relatively scarce pro-poor print media or through pamphlets during rallies and protests. The strategic information is often used to highlight the criminal nexus between the builders, politicians, and bureaucrats in the land and housing market in Mumbai. This strategy was most successfully used in a recent campaign to make visible the irregularities in a housing project that was meant for war veterans. In what is now famously referred to as “Adarsh housing scam,” the activists of NAPM/GBGB collected information through the RTI and found that houses were illegally allocated to bureaucrats and politicians. This high profile scandal eventually cost the then Chief Minister his job as he was made to resign in 2011 in opposition to strong public opinion. More recently, the NAPM/GBGB has also been involved in a struggle against demolition and redevelopment of a slum close to the new business district in the central part of the city. The activists alleged that the government favored a builder who had used fraudulent means to show approval of slum dwellers to redevelop the slums. In June 2011, Medha Patkar went on an indefinite fast after the court ruled in favor of the builder. The slum dwellers also have filed a criminal case against the builder, which is still pending.

Earlier, in 2009 the NAPM/GBGB activists had uncovered another scam allegedly committed by one of the most prominent builders in the city, Hiranandani, who are also part of the regular stake-holders that are consulted in Mumbai’s urban affairs. Activists of NAPM/GBGB found that the Hiranandani had committed a fraud of more than 30,000 crore rupees (about 5 billion USD as per the current exchange rate) in the Powai Area Development Scheme. On the one hand when poor people were being evicted at various parts of the city, rich builders such as Hiranandani were given 300 acres of land at the rate of 40 paisa acre in the Hiranandani Gardens scheme. The original motive was to build houses for low and middle

income people, but in blatant violation of rules, the builder built luxurious apartments for the rich which were sold at about Rs. 4 crores each (about 600,000 USD). Following this expose, the builder was instructed by the Mumbai High Court in 2012 ordered Hiranandanis to stop any future sale of apartments and to construct 3,000 apartments for low and medium income people at the 1985 rate. In this context, an activist noted “millions of working class people have a right to decent housing and it is time state government started evicting the big builders who have encroached upon the public and other land meant for housing of urban poor.”¹²⁷

Although these struggles for housing the poor are closely tied to the issue of urban space, they resonate far beyond it. Activists on the ground recognize this fact and understand the housing struggle as a part of a wider process of urban transformation in India that involves displacement from rural areas. When asked in an interview about what is wrong with Shanghaization, Medha Patkar diagnoses the problem in the following manner:

The overall objective of our policies is to change the rural areas into towns and even cities....With the claim of bringing them into the mainstream, turning them urban, their resources are being used through the development projects for the increasing desire of the urban areas, and not for the benefit of rural population. No one is taking care to strengthen the rural economy by ensuring that the rural poor get their minimum or optimum where they are. Rather, after coming to cities, their services are exploited to change the face of the urban locale. Later, they are considered to be a burden on the city and are ruthlessly shooed off. It is very peculiar that the people, who use the services of these poor, are unable to bear their sight on their way to work or shopping (Patkar and Athialy 2005).

Even in my interview with activists, I found a similar critique of the dominant development paradigm. One of the activists expressed the following in an interview:

If development is evacuating villages and make people run away from their land then how will we agree on such development? Does development mean deserting people from their own homes? If this is development, then we refuse to accept it. If our homes are dismantled, if we are

¹²⁷ Simpreet Singh, personal interview, December 16, 2009.

made homeless, then how can it be development? We consider development as that which understands our needs. If you want to do anything on our land then first make arrangements for us. However, you cannot make arrangements anywhere you please, where there are no facilities. You should not send us to places where there is no bus service, or school, or a place to play or no proper access road. Send us to a place where there are facilities give us a key of that home and tell us that this is your home then we would certainly leave our place. We need basic minimum services.¹²⁸

This assertive stance is also evident in manner in which security of tenure is understood by the poor and how it differs from a legal, state-centric definition of tenure. The state understanding of tenure is essentially tied to land and is defined as a series of rights related to citizenship, property rights, and access to services. But the poor understand tenure as a part of an overall “right to the city” that includes access to essential services such as food, water, shelter, work, education, sanitation, and health (Bhide 2009). Therefore, in the above quote the activist is not merely demanding a relocation, but relocation to a place that gives him access to various basic services.

A long time housing activist in Mumbai, P. K. Das, too sees the question of housing in the city as part of the larger movement for democratic rights. In this sense it ceases to be merely an issue of physical space, in terms of an actual house or space but represents larger issues of political, civil, and human rights. Therefore, according to him, these are primarily struggles of “recognition” that have to do with human rights and dignity of the urban poor and about recognizing their capacity and capabilities. Therefore, housing struggles should go beyond opposing and stopping evictions or the “right to stay,” but should engage with larger issues of urban transformation in the city of challenging the market-led development policy related to land-use, development planning, and infrastructure planning. In this context Das is critical of the leadership of emerging social movements in providing specific alternatives. Das argues that:

¹²⁸ Personal interview, June 19, 2009.

The leadership is becoming like the mainstream political leaderships, which is generalizing everything, which is speaking generally about everything. They may be forceful, they may be effective, they may even be popular, but beyond this point they do not have alternatives. A movement cannot last for long or grow if it is only rooted in generalization. In order to provide alternative, it [a social movement] has to deepen its knowledge and its capabilities in areas of health, education, housing, science and technology and in other spheres of life. Because this is not happening social movements do not induce professionals.¹²⁹

Right to work: From Shrampur (city of labor) to Singapore

As discussed earlier, the formation of textile mills in Bombay led to the emergence of a unique working class culture in Bombay within the mill district that came to be known as *Girangaon*. However, with the decline of the textile mill industry, accelerated by the 1982-83 strike vast tracts of “vacant” mill lands are now the locus of contemporary urban redevelopment. Although, most of these mills have been closed by the mill owners, their “vacant” premises still house many mill worker families who were provided housing on the mill premises. These families, who have now joined the ranks of the new urban poor since losing work, are now struggling to find alternative means of livelihood and housing. But more importantly, they are waging a losing battle to preserve their unique working class culture in the city which no longer needs them.

Praveen Ghag, Secretary of the GKSS, explained to me the significance of this city-within-a-city called *Girangaon* in a personal interview:

Do not think that this is an exaggeration, but there was a time when people used to know time when they used to hear a siren of the mill. They used to blow a siren early in the morning at 7 am when the mill opened and when people went to work, then again at 12 pm in the afternoon for lunch, and later when the workers went home from work in the evening. This is the way Girangaon scheduled its day. In that same Girangaon, about 250,000 people were employed in the mills. Apart from work, they also had a place to live in the chawls. They also had municipal schools like Shirodkar and Balmohan where they would send their children. They also had access

¹²⁹ Personal interview, December 16, 2009.

to health services due to government hospitals such as KEM. The point that I am trying to make is Girangaon was not only a place of work, but it was city in itself that catered to all your existential needs from work, to education, to health. It was a place where everybody from the poor to the rich lived. Even in terms of entertainment, there were cinema theatres like the Bharatmata and Plaza where one could watch a Marathi movie for two or three rupees. There was also the Hanuman Theater where people could watch a *tamasha*...¹³⁰



Figure 11. Rehearsing for the Ganesh festival in Girangaon, the mill-district of Mumbai.

Source: Author (2009).

¹³⁰ Personal interview, December 18, 2009.



Figure 12. Masala Galli (Spice Alley) in Girangaon

Source: Author (2009).

Several NGOs, civic groups, and trade unions are struggling to preserve the mill lands for the textile workers and their families. Most prominent among them is *the Girni Kamgar Sangharsh Samiti* (GKSS) or The Textile Workers Struggle Committee. The *Band* (closed) *Girni Kamgar Sangharsh Samiti* (BGKSS), which later became the GKSS, was formed in 1989 to resist the “lock-outs” of the mills by the mill-owners after the 1982-83 strike. In a span of two years during 1987-89, six mills were closed down by the mill-owners, displacing almost 20,000 workers. These events led to workers coming together to organize, putting into action their historic organizing skills that were nurtured through years of militant trade union struggles. Meetings were held at the gates of closed mills to encourage workers to organize, however there

was not much support from the labor unions which had been demoralized after the failure of the 1982-83 strike (Iswalkar 2009:4). The BGKSS organized a national convention of textile workers facing similar issues across India. Some of the demands outlined were: nationalization of mills, a put a stop to the modernization of mills, to avoid worker retrenchment, and an unemployment benefit for the unemployed workers. Letters were sent out to various ministers in the government. However, there was no response from them. It was then decided to disrupt the state legislative assembly meeting in Mumbai. In order to do that, activists stopped members of the assembly from going to the meeting by locking them indoors in their temporary government accommodation. This garnered enough attention for their grievance to be taken up for discussion in the assembly. This was followed with indefinite fasts by activists to protest against the DC Rules of 1991.¹³¹ A one-day “bandh” (shutdown) was observed by shop-owners in *Girangaon* in solidarity with the fasting workers. Finally, on the ninth day, a delegation of government met the fasting workers and gave reassurances on the question of restarting the mills. However, despite workers’ resistance the government decided to side with the mill-owners in allowing the sale of the mill-lands under DC Rules 1991.

Praveen Ghag in his interview explains how the DC rules were a clever maneuver of the state and mill-owner nexus to ultimately close down the mill due to the huge profits in redevelopment of mills:

After the 1982-83 strike 100,000 workers did not go back to work. And with the remaining workers who went to work in the mills, these mill owners were not interested in running these mills. The mill owners were looking for a way out to sell these mill lands in order to make a lot of money by redeveloping them....therefore in 1991-92 the Sharad Pawar government came out with the Development Control rules... This was an act developed by the government in favour of the mill owners. Initially it was decided that and the surplus land of the mills would be sold by the

¹³¹ See the earlier discussion on the DC rules on page 150 in the context of mill redevelopment.

mill owner and that money was to be used for the modernization of the mill. People were told that this act was formulated to ensure that the mills kept running. But after formulating the act the mill owners sold the land, but the money earned from the sales were not reinvested in the modernization of the mills.¹³²

From 1991 onwards, the incidents of mill closure increased and the mill-owners used various tactics to close down the mills. The mill owners systematically cut the power and electricity connections in the mills, workers were made to sit without any work, various mill departments were closed down and thereby, created this belief that these mills were not going to work. At the same time the owners offered the workers the carrot of the Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS). Therefore the workers had no other choice but to accept it as when they had earlier approached the courts for non-payment of salaries, the court did not rule in their favor.¹³³

In 2001, there were further amendments made to the DC Rules of 1991 which allowed the mill-owners to give even less land for low-income housing than the earlier legislation. In February 2005, a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) was filed in the Mumbai High Court challenging the legality of the 2001 amendment. On April 1, 2005 the court stayed the redevelopment of the mill land. However, on April 20, 2005 mill-owners filed an appeal against the High Court verdict in the Supreme Court after which the Supreme Court granted permission to seven centrally-owned and five privately-owned mills to go ahead with the redevelopment plans. Following this, two centrally-owned mills and two private mills were sold in June-July 2005. The sale of one of the centrally-owned mills was challenged by another PIL in the Mumbai High Court in August 2005. However, the Supreme in a later judgment upheld the sale of mill-land, clearing the way for redevelopment and sale of other mill-lands in Mumbai.

¹³² Personal interview, December 18, 2009.

¹³³ Ibid.

In 1994, a “Save *Girangaon* Campaign” was launched which explicitly aimed at preserving the working class culture of *Girangaon* by arresting the “mills to malls” transformation that was currently underway (see Figure 13). During the campaign city’s several noted theater and film personalities and poets lent their support to the workers. A famous poet Narayan Surve presented a *lavni* (a regional art form that includes dancing and singing) that sarcastically portrayed how the city was been transformed from *Shrampur* (city of labor) to Singapore (Iswalkar 2009:36).



Figure 13. One of the several mills in the mill-district of Girangaon that is been redeveloped into new offices or residences.

Source: Author (2009).

Praveen Ghag in his interview explained to me how this “mills-to-malls” redevelopment is proving to be detrimental to the city. Citing the example of Phoenix Mill (see Figure 6 on p.147), he argues that this had proved to be a bad precedent as the malls have led to severe

congestion around the area as the motorized elite come to entertain themselves in these places. He further explains that the IT industry that came after the closure of mills cannot absorb the workers who had lost their jobs as seventy per cent of them were in the age-range of 40-50 and did not possess the skills required for these new jobs. In addition to not having a good chance at getting reemployed, the workers were running out of their VRS savings. In this situation the former textile workers got systematically marginalized in the city. Some sold their rooms and tenements in order to start a new business, however, many suffered losses. Therefore, they had no other choice but to leave the city and return to their villages or move to the suburbs where the cost of living was cheaper. Even those who returned to their village found themselves in a strange setting as because their families had moved to the city more than hundred years ago, they have no knowledge of farming. However, even today the workers who migrated from Western Maharashtra and Konkan and how were given tenements in the malls still continue to live in the mill premises. There about 6000 people living across 17 mills. But according to the rules they had no legal claim over these tenements as the mills were closed. However, they had nowhere else to go.¹³⁴

With the decreased allotment of land for worker's housing only 25 acres were now available than the earlier 100 acres. However, with further pressure from the workers' organizations the government decided to increase the FSI of these buildings to 4. As a result of this around 60-65,000 houses will be constructed. Further, the workers' organizations have also managed to get the government to create an employment exchange for the mill workers that can help in their reemployment. This is by no means a small achievement considering how heavily the odds were stacked against them. However, the workers' struggle still continues through the

¹³⁴ Ibid.

courts to secure housing and employment for the remaining 100,000 plus workers who lost their jobs due to the closure of the mills.

Ghag sums up the discussion about the effacement of the working poor and small businesses in the context of contemporary urban redevelopment very starkly and it is worth quoting here at length:

If you observe the developments happening in Mumbai in the name of transforming it into Shanghai, for example, they have developed this skyscraper where once there stood a mill, Morarji mill, where about 5000 to 6000 workers worked. This was a secured job. They did not have to look elsewhere. But this kind of “development” is destroying the poor and uprooting the working class as they cannot sustain in this environment. He [worker] is surround by plots that cost about one to two crores [about 160,000-330,000 USD], but he do not have a job. This whole development is anti-poor. It is not just the worker, but even small shop-keepers, chaiwalas [tea-stall owners] are finding it hard to sustain. Earlier in Lalbaug there used to be small cloth dealers or sweet mart vendors now they are all extinct. They are all thrown out of the mainstream development process. They developed this Moraji Mill land, previously small traders, street vendors used to be all around it, but now they are no longer there. These people were given a lump sum amount by the developer and were driven away. This development is being designed in such a way that the poor should not live in this city. Therefore, we oppose such this kind of development. Mumbai’s land has to be allotted to the working class community. And when development plans are designed, you must include these communities and they should be considered as the focal point of the development strategy. In this way we continue to fight the government through this movement. Till date no industry has allotted land for the development of 60,000 houses to its workers after that industry has been shut down. Whatever we have achieved is still a small share. The workers must receive their fair share. So our struggle continues...¹³⁵

Right over urban space

Poverty and lack of gainful employment in the rural areas and smaller towns drive most of the people to the Indian cities. However, due to lack of opportunities for formal employment (which has increased in the recent years due to deindustrialization and a decline of manufacturing in the city) and inadequate skills to gain employment in the emerging trade and service economy, there

¹³⁵ Ibid.

is increasing number of people doing informal work in the city. It is estimated that there are around 250,000 street vendors in Mumbai, the most in any city in India. They consist of low-skilled rural migrants or migrants from smaller towns. Also among these are former industrial workers who have lost their jobs and are compelled to work in the informal sector. It is estimated that out of the 250,000 street vendors in Mumbai almost 30 percent are former mill workers. (Bhowmik 2006; Bhowmik and More 2003).

For the urban poor, street vending is the most feasible means of earning a livelihood as it requires minor financial investment or professional skills. Much of the urban economy of street vending is based on the sale of household goods such as clothes, leather and plastic goods produced in the small-scale industries, as well as the sale of daily food items such as vegetables, fruits, and low-cost meals. Street vending, therefore, provides low-priced commodities to the urban poor, who cannot afford to shop in up-scale malls or departmental stores.

To get more insights into the issues of street vendors, I interviewed Hariram Yadav, the Secretary of the Bombay Hawkers' Union. Bombay Hawkers Union has been in existence since 1963 and has been involved in several campaigns for preserving street vendors' rights. Yadav has been with the union since 1980. He began by explaining to me the importance of street vending to people in Mumbai, poor and rich alike:

Hawkers sell cheapest goods to the public. It is cheapest. Now in Nariman Point, people who come from outside they serve them, now there is no hotel in that area, there is one Oberoi Hotel. In Oberoi Hotel, some ten-twelve years ago we had dug out this information that one type of food is charged about Rs.12000/-. Now here people who work in office they come on the streets to eat. There are clerks, peons, security guards; there is no arrangement of food available for these people. That is why hawkers used to work in that area. Now they have evacuated that place.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Hariram Yadav, personal interview, November 7, 2009.

However, the city-elite that consists of the government officials, upper-and middle-class residents, and shop-owners see street vendors as a nuisance. The municipal government looks at them as a problem of urban governance, obstruction of traffic, and crime. The upper- and middle-class residents (through their resident associations and NGOs) confront street vendors for their alleged encroachment of public space which according to them deprives pedestrians their right to walk. However, Hariram Yadav counters this by pointing to the double standards of how everyone turns a blind eye toward the encroachment by the elite in following words:

When you pass V.T station, you will see it has been cleared [of street vendors], so is P.M road, if you go by the P.M road you will notice that they have allotted parking space. In the same place, previously hawkers used to sit. As a rule parking has to keep on one side and not on both sides, but what they have done is that parking space is kept on both the side and has blocked the roads. Every day so many people pass through it and no one complaint, but if they see a hawker doing is independent business, then they cause nuisance... One shop keeper owns his shop but does not own the street, but now they have instated security guard on the streets. This is *dadagiri* [bossing] of the BMC and the police; they support them. Before that hawkers used to sit there.... So slowly the foot paths are acquired by the shop keepers, they want to show off that they have four cars. That is how it is. Today car parking is a big issue and so there is lot nuisance created because of it. And every time shops are renovated and repaired they acquire one foot of extra space....So how will the roads be saved?

There is also misconception about the so-called unhygienic practices of street vendors. The street vendors counter this notion by pointing out that unlike popular perception of street vending as being disorderly and dirty, it is actually quite regulated. For example, one of the street vendors I interviewed informed me this:

A sugarcane juice vendor has been given conditions. There are 35 conditions which they are expected to follow. Every sugarcane juice cart owner is compelled to keep a dust bin, and they keep the bin and if you notice you will see that not a single piece of waste is thrown on the road. They instantly call the waste collector or throw the waste in the public waste bin on the streets.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Ibid.

The “world class” vision of beautifying the city basically means sanitizing public space by getting rid of street vending. This has led to increasing regulation of public space by the municipal government and its refusal to legalize the activities of the street vendors, as well as violent evictions and confiscation of property during raids. This status of illegality renders the street vendors vulnerable and reduces their power to negotiate entitlements from the state. Also, it is alleged that the illegal status benefits to keep the system of extortion by corrupt government officials and local goons. For example, Yadav in his interview informed me:

Neither the corporation nor the state government is doing their job. A Commissioner is posted for three years. His primary motive is to please the wealthy. The whole system is corrupt. In each ward, every hawker has to pay a *hafta* (bribe) of Rs.2000 to 2500 per month. It is immaterial whether he [vendor] has a license or not. Both have to give a bribe. And they [municipal officials] are troubling the hawker due to pressure from wealthy. They do not have any official policy on this. This is their personal policy. For example, if a ward officer feels this hawker should not be seen in this area, he can invoke sections 313 and 314 under the Commissioner’s Act to confiscate any property on the streets.¹³⁸

However, this status of illegality is very aptly questioned by a member of a prominent hawkers’ union in the following words:

If a candidate we vote for wins the election is considered legal, then how come my existence becomes illegal? The one whom I give birth becomes legal and I become illegal. How this is possible? If people who win elections by our votes are all legal then nobody has the right to call us illegal.¹³⁹

However, it is not only the state that the street vendors have to fight against, but also the middle-classes in the city. One of the “world class city” visions in Mumbai involves beautifying the city through a sustained campaign called *Mumbai Chakachak* (literally, Mumbai Shining). The campaign is an outcome of a collaborative effort of local government agencies and a few NGOs such as CitiSpace and Clean-Sweep. This has essentially led to increasing regulation of public

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

space by the municipal government and its refusal to legalize the activities of the street vendors. Organizations such as CitiSpace whose agenda is to keep the streets clean and free of street vendors have long championed the cause of municipal markets to house street vendors. However, these recommendations have no with the existing realities in the city. Specifically responding to this question of municipal markets, Hariram Yadav states in during the interview:

In Mumbai, there are very few municipal markets. There is one market in each ward for vegetables. There are other markets which has 250 vending slots, in some there are 150 vending slots, so if 50,000 people come to the market to purchase from 150 vending slots then how will they meet the needs of the people? The spaces allotted for the markets are acquired by the builders. Even the garden spaces are acquired by the builders.¹⁴⁰

However, street vendors represent one of the larger and more organized sections within the informal economy and have had a long history of organizing. Some of the main issues that the hawkers unions in Mumbai are actively involved in currently are: the implementation of the National Policy on Urban Street Vendors, passed in 2004; fighting corporatization and FDI in retail; protesting against the JNNURM; fighting the National Food Safety Bill that establishes standards of hygiene equivalent to five star hotels; and social security for the informal sector.¹⁴¹ Along with organized protest, the everyday politics of the street vendors involves negotiating with the government officials through bribes and gaining patronage of local goons (Anjaria 2006). Anjaria (2006) describes how, by what is termed as “official legality,” the unlicensed hawkers have to deal with a host of state agencies in their daily activities. One such example is the *pauti* (receipt) system, under which the hawkers have to pay state officials “unauthorized occupation cum refusal charges.” Anjaria (2006) feels this is a “clever maneuver of the state to collect revenue from an officially illegal population” (pp. 2140-41). The informal mechanisms of

¹⁴⁰ Personal interview, June 11, 2009.

¹⁴¹ Information obtained through the National Hawkers Federation.

street vendors also serve to self-regulate and preserve urban space, contrary to most the perceptions of the city elites.

In recent years, a favorable court judgment, an international declaration, and a national policy have provided a shot in the arm to the efforts of organizing the street vendors in India. In 1989, the Supreme Court, in relation to a public interest litigation announced that as per the constitution no one can be denied the right to carry on trade or business on the street pavements, if it was properly regulated. Similarly, the Bellagio Declaration of 1998 was instrumental in articulating the demands of street vendors across the world as well as in the formation of the National Alliance of Street Vendors of India (NASVI) in 1998. Since its formation in 1998, NASVI has tried to facilitate networking among the street vendors, trade unions, and NGOs. It has also tried to study various problems related to street vending through survey research in order to justify the rights of street vendors; especially of making street vendors an integral part of urban policies and granting them a legal status. In 2004, the National Policy on Urban Street Vendors was passed which calls for recognition and legalization of “natural markets.” The policy also recognizes street vendors’ basic rights and the importance of the services they provide both socio-economically and in terms of urban planning (Bhowmik 2003 N.d.).

Although, the Shangaization project seems to have gained a strong foot hold in the city, it is one among several competing visions of urban development in the city. We have already seen one alternative version in the form of the struggles of the urban poor to claim their “right to the city.” In the following sections we will discuss a few more projects that did not necessarily emerge within the framework of neoliberalization of Mumbai, but nonetheless shape the contours of urban development in important ways. And it is will only be evident at the end of this section the impossibility of a single idea or ideology to define Mumbai’s space.

Other Competing Claims on Mumbai

According to Gyan Prakash (2002), a city is a layered structure of power, experience, and memory where class, ethnicity, religion, economy, culture, and politics are weaved into the very texture of the city and in the spaces and rhythms of daily life.

Bombay/Mumbai is and has always been a quintessential immigrant city and India's ideal-type of cosmopolitanism. In 1891, out of Bombay's total population of about 800,000, only a quarter were born in the city (Kidambi 2007:22). Following Independence and the partition of India and Pakistan, Bombay's population grew rapidly between 1941 and 1951, especially in the suburbs (Pacione 2006: 231). With over half of the population being of non-Marathi ethnicity, Mumbai has emerged as India's most cosmopolitan city represented by immigrants from western, northern, as well as southern parts of India.

Mercantile groups from Gujarat (predominantly the Parsis, along with other trading and business castes of Hindus, Jains and Muslims) were encouraged by the East India Company to settle in Bombay in order to develop a trading center. The bulk of the local Marathi-speaking population in the city was engaged in non-commercial activities, with only a small minority of western educated elites working as professionals. The establishment of the cotton textile industry in the mid-19th century transformed induced additional migration of peasants from the countryside, particularly from the coastal areas of Konkan in the south of Maharashtra, who came to work in the textile mills of Bombay. This led to the formation of a distinct working class mill district known as *Girangaon* (the village of mills). The population of Bombay grew exponentially since the 1940s, especially after independence, with the influx of migrants from what is now Pakistan. Other migrants included people from various deprived castes (such as Dalits) from the hinterlands of Bombay and other regions of India. The unavailability of

adequate housing to accommodate the rising tide of migrants in the city led to the proliferation of slums, which have become a characteristic feature of contemporary Mumbai. Thus, we find that the ethnic, class, caste, and religious divisions in Mumbai were maintained by the changing economic structure of the city (Kosambi 1995; Patel 2003, 2006).

It is in within this rich history of layered cosmopolitanism that we can trace the contemporary ideological strands that simultaneously constituted as well as contested it. At various moments in Bombay's/Mumbai's history there emerged distinct imaginaries, some of which continue to exert claims over Mumbai's space and imagination.

Mumbai of the Marathi Manoos (person)

On Sunday, October 19, 2008, north Indian candidates appearing for the all-India Railway Recruitment Board entrance exam in Mumbai were beaten up in Mumbai. Anti-north Indian slogans were heard outside the exam centers. The people behind these attacks were activists of the newly formed political outfit called Maharashtra Navnirman Sena or Maharashtra (MNS) roughly translated as Maharashtra Recreation Army.¹⁴² This party is a splinter group of the Shiv Sena (SS), which has been a dominant force in the local politics of Mumbai since the 1960s, under the leadership of Balasaheb Thackeray. In 2006, Balasaheb Thackeray's nephew Raj, popularly considered as the heir apparent to the ailing patriarch broke-away from the party to form his own party MNS. Led by a similar persona and oratory skills as his uncle, Raj Thackeray and the party's aggressive street politics, the MNS has already made its mark on the political landscape of the city and the state. In their first outing as a political outfit in the 2009 state assembly elections, the party won 13 seats (out of 288) in the state, splitting the Marathi vote with its parent party the SS in Mumbai city. In Mumbai the party won six seats and a 23.8 per cent of votes and emerged as the second largest party in the metropolis after the ruling

¹⁴² Rahi Gaikwad, "North Indians attacked in Mumbai." The Hindu, October 20, 2008, p.1.

Congress-NCP coalition. On the other hand, its cousin SS and its ally BJP lost 30 per cent of their seats in Mumbai due to the MNS.¹⁴³ Quite an achievement for a party that came into being a few years ago in 2006. However, in the latest municipal elections in 2012, Shiv Sena-BJP alliance won majority seats 107 out of total 227 seats (Shiv Sena 70, BJP 32), while MNS won 28 seats.¹⁴⁴ So together, the SS and MNS won almost 100 seats. These election results bear testimony to the popularity of the MNS and SS among the local Marathi population.

In its 2009 election manifesto, the MNS listed the following objectives among others:

- ~raising the status of Maharashtra State, its people and the Marathi language to its resplendent glory
- ~development of the Marathi language
- ~to serve the interest of the Marathi Manu—a person living in the State and born to Marathi parents, or one, though of a different linguistic origin, born in Maharashtra, who speaks Marathi and loves Maharashtra.
- ~To give justice to the Marathi Manus, MNS will do everything from establishing a Marathi Language Academy, fighting with the anti-Marathi lobby, making Marathi a compulsory subject in all schools, insisting for Marathi name-boards on shops and establishments to broadening the knowledge base in Marathi. These activities, constructive as well as street-level campaigning will be pursued at the same time.
- ~eliminate the interference of the Non-Marathi power-mongers from outside the State in the State's politics and social life thereby reinforcing the existence of Maharashtra for the Marathi Manus.

The roots of the above nativist “sons of the soil” ideology lay in the 1960s with the emergence of a regional movement for separate statehood for Maharashtrians with the demand that Bombay be made the capital of that new state and that the Marathi-speaking population be given priority in terms of employment (Gupta 1982; Katzenstein 1979; Lele 1995).¹⁴⁵ This popular Samyukta

¹⁴³ “MNS gives Congress Raj a Hand.” *The Times of India*, October 23, 2009.

¹⁴⁴ “BJP-Shiv Sena wins Mumbai municipal polls.” *The Times of India*, February 11, 2012.

¹⁴⁵ At the time of the movement Bombay Presidency and later Bombay State comprised of present-day Gujarat and Maharashtra. As a result of this movement two separate states of Maharashtra and Gujarat were created in 1960 and Bombay was made the capital of Maharashtra.

Maharashtra Movement (SMM) brought to the fore the contradictions between the dominant Marathi agricultural elite of Maharashtra and the non-Marathi elite in the industry. Although the movement was dominated by the left forces, there was a section of staunchly anti-communist within the movement, one of which was represented by an eminent journalist K.S. Thackeray, Balasaheb Thackeray's father. With the formation of Maharashtra the movement lost its potency. The period, following the creation of the new state and the formation of Shiv Sena in 1966 was marked by political and economic crisis due to slow growth and rising prices (Lele 1995). It is in within this crisis that Shiv Sena was born and took up the cause of mobilizing the disenchanting Marathi middle and lower class and caste groups who shared this perception of disadvantage compared to the relatively well off south Indian migrants. Along with this anti-migrant program it also violently opposed the communists in the city by breaking the backbone of the left-led trade unions. However, it became more successful in the late 1960s when it began mobilizing underemployed and unemployed youth in the city and therefore, slums became the main constituencies of the SS. It began to provide financial assistance to migrants and slum dwellers toward their basic needs of food, leisure, and housing. In a situation where land was becoming scarce, the SS used its muscle power to encroach on lands and enable construction of slums creating this image of the *dada* or elder brother or protector among the slum dwellers (Patel 2004; 2006). It continued to maintain its presence by enacting mass spectacles during various religious festivals. Thus, a stable Marathi audience was created by the SS through a politics of nativism and violence that conveniently constructed the "other" according to its waxing and waning influence. Initially it grew out of a movement to incorporate Bombay within the state of Maharashtra during the period of reorganization of states after independence. In the later period, it exploited the crisis of the 1960s in fueling anti-outsider sentiments among the unemployed

Marathi youth. As its influence began to fade in the 1970s, the Shiv Sena regenerated itself through right-wing Hindu supremacist politics.

In the early 1980s, the SS began to assume a religious overtone by claiming to be a party of the Hindus. A turning point in this regard was in 1984, when it formed a political alliance with the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) in a context of its losing appeal in Bombay. Lele (1995: 204) argues that the material basis for the “saffronization” of the Shiv Sena was provided by its involvement in the emerging “predatory capitalism” based on the new capital-state-crime nexus.¹⁴⁶ With expansion of Bombay’s illicit commercial and financial links based on real estate, drug trafficking, and arms places such as Dubai became safe havens for this predatory capitalism. In a context of increasing economic opportunities for Indian Muslims in the middle-east, the Shiv Sena conveniently used images of individual Muslim dons of crime syndicates operating in the middle-east led to criminalize the Muslims and spreading anti-Muslim sentiments. This anti-Muslim sentiment was also generated by carefully orchestrated riots in different part of the city in order to gain sympathy for its cause. Muslims were portrayed as being aggressive, conspiratorial, and criminal, while the Shiv Sena was portrayed as a “righteous vigilante organization” serving to protect Hindu communities (Lele 1995: 202). The support for the ideology of *Hindutva* continued to grow throughout 1980s and in Bombay for the first time the Shiv Sena was able to gain control of the Bombay Municipal Corporation in the 1985 elections. Moreover, the alliance also claimed state power in the mid-1990s and officially renamed Bombay as Mumbai. Today, the splinter group of the Shiv Sena, the MNS, perpetuates this anti-migrant, anti-Muslim rhetoric and violence in Mumbai. This growing influence of the Shiv Sena and the MNS is considered by scholars as the “decosmopolitanization” or

¹⁴⁶ The term “saffronization” is used by critics to refer to the politics of right-wing Hindu nationalism (*Hindutva*) based on glorification of ancient Hindu past. The saffron color refers to the saffron robes worn by Hindu saints and also the primary color of self-representation used by right-wing political parties such as the BJP and the Shiv Sena.

“provincialization” of Mumbai as seen in the attempts to claim Mumbai as Marathi and Hindu (Appadurai 2000; Varma 2004). However, its creation and sustenance as an urban movement is rooted in the modern economic and social fabric of the city, what Hansen (2001) refers to as “vernacular modernity.”

The Mumbai mafia

Perhaps one of the most under researched, but widely acknowledged feature of Mumbai’s culture, economy, and politics is Mumbai’s mafia. It influences practically every spheres of city life—business (film production, real estate, gold smuggling), administration, and politics (Varma 2004). The “underworld” of extortion, smuggling, drug trafficking, and drug peddling emerged within the state-sponsored capitalism that regulated imports, thereby fueling the growth of black-market smuggling. However, with liberalization of the Indian economy with the economic reforms in the 1990s, the underworld has diversified its portfolio to include the real estate market. Liberalization has led to the entry of transnational capital into the city that has spurred the growth of “casino capitalism” and spiraling real estate prices in the city (Nijman 2000). It is in this suitable speculative environment that the mafia (with the illicit supported of the nexus of politicians, bureaucrats, and the police) has emerged as a key figure in Mumbai’s land development and local politics (Weinstein 2008). The initial involvement of criminal gangs in the real estate was in the context of “sick” textile mills, where their help was sought to discipline workers who resisted the sale of mill lands. The story of mill murders such as that of the textile mill owner Sunit Khatau also bear testimony to the growing influence of the underworld (D’monte 2002).

In 2007, there an arrest of four hit men in Mumbai brought the builder-underworld nexus to the fore. Earlier the underworld used to play a support role to the builder in terms of helping

the builder vacate or gain control of a property. However, with the boom of the real estate has started attracted the underworld to engage directly into the business of construction. In a very bollywood like script, a developer who was involved in a Rs. 500 crore (around 84 million as per current exchange rate) was kidnapped at the request of a rival builder and forced to meet with a notorious gangster in prison, who threatened the builder to let go of the claim for the project. The threatened builder in return approached a politician with links with the underworld to kill the rival builder. However, as the shooters were waiting for the other rival builder to come out of a hotel they were arrested by the police.¹⁴⁷ Stories like these are becoming commonplace in the real estate business. Interestingly, a newspaper article points out that increasing people's participation in the redevelopment process is actually leading to common people, who earlier remained unaffected by the gang rivalries, are now getting caught up in this dirty game. For example, in 2008, residents of various co-operative housing societies demonstrated against the growing builder, politician, and bureaucrat nexus. One of the residents alleged that the when she refused to go with the decision of the building's managing committee to appoint a particular builder, her signatures were forged and when she challenged the forgery the builder threatened to kill her and abduct her daughter. According to her when she went to approach the authorities for help, the builder would be tipped off and he would be there at the scene and no action would be taken against him. In another incident a lady without any notice was evicted from her apartment with the help of the police.¹⁴⁸

Many a times the builders act as front men for the mafia in various redevelopment projects. In 2008, the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) publicized a tender for building

¹⁴⁷ Mateen Hafeez and S. Ahmed, "Real estate boom lures underworld," *The Times of India*, March 12, 2007.

¹⁴⁸ "Housing redevelopment plans: Residents protest 'nexus between builders, politicians, and bureaucrats,'" Express New Service, August 2, 2008. Retrieved on July1, 2013 (<http://expressindia.indianexpress.com/latest-news/housing-redevelopment-plans-residents-protest-nexus-between-builders-politicians-and-bureaucrats-/343646/>).

residential and commercial buildings on slums, it was found that as many as 25 proposals came from builders who were associated with the Dawood Ibrahim, a notorious criminal who runs crime syndicate and is now also known to have links with the terrorist outfits in Pakistan.¹⁴⁹

R.N. Sharma (2007:292) argues, that real increase in housing prices is due to the speculation and profiteering by businessmen and points out that at any point in time, over 15 per cent of the newly constructed units in the city remain open for speculation which earns the promoter and builder 100 to 500 per cent returns on their investment, which has to be shared with the politicians, bureaucrats, and the mafia.

The continued nativist appeal of Shiv Sena in the urban context of Mumbai highlights the fact that polarization and social exclusion is as much as part of the Indian domestic political social structure as it is of global forces (Heller 2010). In this context, Heller (2010:440) argues that “while the contours of inequality in Mumbai are obviously structured by market forces, they are also organized through a whole range of categorical inequalities of gender, caste, community, and ethnicity (including a complex layering of immigrant groups from different states) that overlap with, but do not simply reflect class differences.” In such a situation, access to basic resources such as work, housing, food, water, education, and health gets organized through these categorical inequalities (Zérah 2008). This leads to a politics of patronage based on religion and ethnicity where the urban poor in order to have their demands met have to interact with the state as clients or members of particular groups, rather than rights-bearing citizens. Moreover, their interactions assume the form of exchanges, not rights (Heller 2009:138). However, as highlighted by the emerging poor people’s movements in Mumbai we see a radical departure from this form of political mobilizing. By structurally unifying the urban poor across their categorical identities, the poor people’s movements have managed to in an assertive rights-based

¹⁴⁹ S. Balakrishnan, “Builders with D-link pitch for SRA schemes,” *The Times of India*, May 24, 2008.

approach make their demands. And as we see in the earlier discussions, this approach has been fairly successful. Even the movements such as those of the Shiv Sena and now the MNS although they mobilize people on the basis of their parochial identities, class based inequalities form the context within which they occur. Nonetheless, one cannot deny their existence as they cannot be completely subsumed by class. Therefore, it becomes all the more crucial that any genuine attempts of economic growth must go beyond growth itself and also simultaneously address these categorical inequalities. Moreover, the mafia poses a severe challenge to growth and calls for reforms in governance as well as the land market. However, these cannot happen without a structural transformation in the democratic polity. This highlights the need for a more holistic approach toward growth and not the narrow sectorally defined approach of the Shangaization strategy.

CONCLUSION

Urban development has assumed increasing importance in contemporary globalization, especially in the megacities of the South which are consciously trying to reposition themselves globally to maximize their comparative advantages. However, we need to be attentive to the particular socio-historical contexts within which these cities are reimagining globalist futures.

The recent “rise” of emerging economies in Asia (particularly India and China) has generated an interesting set of contradictions. At the aggregate level, sustained economic growth in the region has led to substantial reduction in poverty and hunger. Moreover, this growth has been achieved without a faithful adherence to the “blue-prints” of the Washington Consensus. However, the economic growth has been extremely uneven, giving rise to widespread inequalities. In China, this is evident in the growing disparities between the rural and urban areas, coastal and inland regions, and city-dwellers and migrants. In India, a time of unprecedented national prosperity has witnessed increasing urban poverty and the severe neglect of the agricultural sector, reflected in its most brutal form in the increasing rates of farmers’ suicides in the country.

This study tried to unravel some of the above contradictions by focusing on the experience of two leading cities of Asia: Shanghai and Mumbai. Cities in Asia have grown rapidly in recent years and have contributed significantly to their respective national growth rates. In the Chinese case growth has been more dramatic as seen in the complete makeover of Shanghai in a relatively short period of time. Shanghai’s transformation has inspired the business and political elite in Mumbai to devise similar strategies of fast growth. However, they seem to be unaware of the realities of Shanghai’s developmental path and are enamored more by the modernist appeal of the city.

The Shanghai model as it evolved in China is deeply problematic and is one of the main reasons for the imbalanced development in China. Formulated in the 1980s, this model was a precursor to China's anti-rural bias and suppression of small scale and labor intensive entrepreneurship. Further, this model also has become synonymous with forcible evictions of vulnerable populations, corruption by real estate developers, and rural impoverishment. Finally, the model is extremely expensive and subsidized at the cost of investments in other crucial sectors such as rural development, education, and health. Even within China, this model has undermined the micro-economic foundations of initial Chinese growth led by small-scale rural entrepreneurs and has also contributed to the growing regional and income inequalities (Huang 2008c).

Some scholars saw the Shanghai model of development as yet another variety of a neoliberal model of accumulation, while a few others understood it more as a political operation in the context of a changing political environment in China. Nonetheless, a non state-centric analysis of neoliberalism that focuses on neoliberal technologies and rationalities does lend some support to the neoliberal thesis in relation to China.

The demonstration effect of Shanghai's "fast growth" is felt even beyond China, especially in Mumbai. In the context of a resurgent Asia, Shanghai is an attractive non-Western model that appeals to the political and business elite, preoccupied with sustaining the high growth agenda. In the particular context of Mumbai, Shanghaization is not simply a result of global forces acting on the local. It is historically contingent and is articulated through a variety of social actors at multiple scales. Therefore, Shanghaization can be understood as particular kind of "worlding" based on inter-referencing that takes place at a particular time in world-history, characterized by an ascendant urban Asian world (Roy 2011). Mumbai's "art of being

global” is actively constructed by a constellation of actors involving the corporate sector, the national and subnational states, and the urban middle classes, for whom the idea of a “world class city” carries great resonance. For the national state, it serves its purpose of sustaining the national momentum of macroeconomic growth, for the subnational state, led by powerful business interests a “world class city” is a tremendous opportunity for accumulating profits (especially through land development), while for the enriched urban-middle classes, a “world class city” is about realizing a consumerist ideal.

As a model of development, Shanghaization is narrowly focused on economic growth rather than the broader welfare implications of growth. Its fast growth strategy is based on real estate revitalization and development to spur economic growth, infrastructure, and transport improvement designed primarily to encourage new private (foreign) investment and property development. It is basically an entrepreneurially-driven, accumulation model which engenders an elitist reimagining of the city that caters to the educated urban middle-classes who are well positioned to reap the benefits of an interconnected world. In Roy’s (2011:10) words Shanghaization of Mumbai represents:

[T]he production of an Asian urban capitalism that self-consciously presents itself as Asian, that deploys the motifs of the Asian century and that references other Asian models. In their crudest form, these worlding practices legitimize national projects of primitive accumulation, often deepening socio-spatial inequality and injustice.

Therefore, the development visions espoused by Shanghaization are not only incapable of addressing issues of structural urban poverty and inequality in Mumbai, but on the contrary, potentially deepen already existing inequalities.

Recent critical urban scholarship complicates our understanding of an emerging urban world by acknowledging contestation and uncertainty related to urban change. The contemporary elite worlding of Mumbai represented by Shanghaization is inherently unstable because this

violent form of urban development leaves the majority of the urban poor out of its vision. But the tenacity of resistance shown by various poor peoples' movements in Mumbai has shown that any technical, top-down attempt of restructuring city space in Mumbai is bound to be met with stiff opposition. Through these movements, the urban poor make themselves visible by claiming their "right to the city." Harvey (2004:23) defines the "right to the city" not only as individual access to urban resources, but also as "a collective power to reshape urbanization"—a right to change the city. As seen in the case of the three urban poor movements analyzed in this study, the urban poor in Mumbai go beyond mere access to urban resources: land, housing, and work. They also lay claims on the future on the city by elaborating their indispensable role in the historical development of the city. They claim their "right to the city" by inverting the whole logic of "illegality" and "encroachment" by unmasking the illegal and encroached urbanism of the elite, thereby calling for a "just" and "equal" city. Moreover, this emerging urban politics in Mumbai transforms the discourse of citizenship from formal national state membership to its substantive aspects related to civil, political, socio-economic, and cultural rights (Holston and Appadurai 1999). This has tremendous potential to enlarge the scope of urban development which is currently equated with rapid economic growth as an end-in-itself toward a more redistributive and inclusive growth that serves as *means* for broad-based development. Thus, transforming Mumbai into Shanghai does is not merely an economic project, but is an inherently contested political project that raises a fundamental question: Whose City is It?

From Inclusive Growth to Inclusive Development

A critique of rapid economic growth should not undermine the role of economic growth in development. Sustained economic growth is crucial for poverty reduction; however, for growth to be sustainable in the long run it should be broad-based involving all economic sectors.

Further, it should also be inclusive to allow contribution of large sections of the country's labor force (World Bank 2009b). Therefore, inclusive growth is concerned not only with the pace of growth, but also with the *pattern* of growth.

“Inclusiveness” as a concept encompasses equity, equality of opportunity, and protection in market and employment transitions (The Commission on Growth and Development 2008). Equity refers to creation of equal outcomes, while equality of opportunity refers to equal starting points. Markets are not capable of ensuring equity; therefore the government has to play an important role in creating equality by providing universal access to public services like health and education and in promoting job opportunities. In this regard, there is a need for pragmatic, gradual, and experimental policies that are sensitive to particular historical and social contexts.

Growth is not an end in itself, but a means to end (broad-based development). The emerging consensus in development theory is that any inclusive, broad-based development has to have in place social institutions that are developmental (that sustain high rates of growth and are redistributive), socially inclusive, and democratic, respecting human development of all citizens (Mkandawire 2004). Rather than thinking in terms of trade-offs between equity and efficiency and between social and economic development, we need a supply-side “productivist approach” to social development that not only focuses on social capital, but which also enhances productivity and output, rather than relying on the conventional demand-side consumption approach (Nederveen Pieterse 2001). In adopting such a developmental approach there is a need to focus on “development as imminent change” that happens from within and which incorporates the needs and aspirations of most of the citizens rather than catering to a select few (Nederveen Pieterse 2001:126).

Futures

The alarming growth of inequalities and its discontent has forced the Chinese and the Indian governments to address the issue of inclusive growth. In 2003, President Hu Jintao rhetorically moved away from the Shanghai model of development and adopted the goal of “harmonious society” based on a new approach of “scientific development” (*kexue fazhanguan*) or “comprehensive, coordinated, and sustainable development.” This new approach seeks to correct the earlier overemphasis on GDP-focused and reign in run-away unequal growth that neglects social welfare. The new official rhetoric has now shifted from “economic growth” to “social harmony” incorporating sustainable development and social welfare (Fewsmith 2004:1). Similarly, India’s Planning Commission has made inclusive growth as their goal in the eleventh (2007-2012) and twelfth (2012-2017) five year plans focusing on poverty reduction, bridging gender and regional divides, and sustainable economic growth (Government of India 2006). In 2006, India also launched the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act or NREGA, the world’s largest social welfare scheme aimed at completely eliminating poverty.

However, the agenda of inclusive growth is ridden with several challenges. In China, as discussed in chapter 3, the current administration has to balance competing political factions, including a dominant section of the “Shanghai Clique” which has vested interest in preserving the Shanghai model of fast growth. In India, despite all the talk of inclusive growth, there is no agreed upon definition of the term. Even welfare programs such as NREGA has failed to live up to its objectives and studies have found the program mired in widespread corruption, caste-based discrimination, and lack of political coordination between the center, state, and local bolides in running the program (Jeelani 2010).

To conclude, it remains to be seen if the lofty goals of inclusion turn out to be an empty rhetoric, or whether they are transformed into genuine action to address issues of structural inequality and poverty in these two cities. Regardless, one thing is very clear, rather than chasing and celebrating double-digit growth rates, cities in the South need to rethink their developmental agenda. In the case of Mumbai, the most urgent task at hand is to provide basic amenities of sanitation, housing, and transportation for the majority of its citizens and to promote the small-scale informal sector where most of its citizens toil. Simply importing “blue-prints” such as the Shanghai model will not only be inappropriate to the local needs of the particular society (such as Mumbai), but it also means adopting models which have not worked well in the first place.

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